

# Caesar

*Selections from his COMMENTARII  
DE BELLO GALLICO*

TEXT • NOTES • VOCABULARY



Hans-Friedrich Mueller

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DE BELLO GALLICO*

**Hans-Friedrich Mueller**  
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## **Caesar**

### **Selections from his *Commentarii De Bello Gallico***

Hans-Friedrich Mueller

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## — PREFACE AND INTRODUCTORY NOTES —

**T**his book is designed as a reader for those passages from Julius Caesar's *Dē Bellō Gallicō* that have been adopted by the syllabus of the newly revised Advanced Placement course in Latin literature. As a convenience to teachers and students, we also provide an annotated translation of the required readings in English from Caesar's *Gallic War*, but we offer, above all, a detailed guide to the required selections in Latin. The selections in Latin prescribed by the AP syllabus include readings from Books One, Four, Five, and Six of Caesar's *Gallic War*.

Book One (1.1–7) introduces Gaul, its geography as well as its cultural and political features, and it presents the first conflict of Caesar's campaign, which Caesar describes not as the opening battle in a campaign to conquer all Gaul, but instead merely as an intervention, a sort of police action to safeguard the integrity of the Roman province of which he was governor.

Book Four (4.24–36.1) picks up four years later when Caesar appeared to have brought all Gaul under his effective military control. He felt secure enough to lead an expeditionary force to Britain, and Book Four tells the story of that first “invasion.”

Book Five (5.24–48) presents a rather different picture. After Caesar secures his men in winter quarters at the end of a summer of campaigning (ancient armies generally did not fight in the winter), the previously conquered Belgic tribes rise in revolt and destroy one of Caesar's legions. Caesar's tense narrative describes what went wrong and how he repaired the situation.

Book Six (6.13–20) describes the Gauls and their customs in greater detail than did the brief introduction Caesar provided in Book One. Caesar paints a vivid picture of Celtic religious, social, and political institutions.



These selections provide good insight into Caesar's genre (*commentarii*), his style as an author, the issues he faced as the governor of a province, his decision making as a general, and the culture of northern Europe before it was forcibly integrated into Greco-Roman cultural traditions. For each chapter of Book One only, we provide an introductory overview in English to help students find their way into the general flow of Caesar's narrative in Latin. The additional readings in English will help students flesh out their understanding of the more general shape of the war to conquer Gaul, but these Latin passages, which convey Caesar's thinking in his own Latin are well chosen to illustrate many of the crucial issues that defined Roman war and politics in Caesar's day, and which are truly comprehensible only if we understand the words and concepts used by the historical actors themselves.

### *How to Use This Reader*

*This book has been designed as a Latin reader.* With this book in hand, students should be able to read efficiently, and then review intensively and with minimal wasted time, the selections from Caesar's *Galic War* that appear on the new AP Latin syllabus. Those who know Clyde Pharr's magisterial edition of the first six books of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a continuing treasure for all students and teachers of Vergil, will recognize the model. Like its model, this reader is designed to guide students through the Latin text with minimal time lost to searching for vocabulary or through Latin grammars (not that such activities are a bad way to spend time—but students' time is limited, so we must use what time we have as effectively as possible). For students in search of additional information, we provide a complete vocabulary at the end of the volume. In addition, we offer this complete vocabulary as well as a grammatical and syntactical appendix online ([www.bolchazy.com/extras/caesarappendix.pdf](http://www.bolchazy.com/extras/caesarappendix.pdf)) so that students can have these resources available on their computers while reading the text. *The primary aim of this reader, however, is to supply enough information on each page to permit students to spend almost all the time that they devote to Caesar's Latin on those same pages where Caesar's Latin text appears.* How do we accomplish this?

Like Gaul, each page has been divided into three parts. Caesar's Latin text appears first. Words that appear in *italics* are familiar words and those that Caesar uses frequently. Because he uses them so frequently, these words have been printed on an extensible vocabulary sheet, "Familiar Words Frequently Used by Caesar," which students may pull out and

keep open for every page (or until they have memorized these frequently appearing words). In the glossary, a dagger † follows the entry for these words on the pullout vocabulary list.

All vocabulary not italicized is provided immediately below the Latin passage. Below this list of vocabulary, students will find a running commentary on the text. The primary aim of the commentary is to help students understand the Latin text. We supply succinct, but relatively detailed, information about how the syntax of Caesar's sentences works. References to further grammatical and syntactical particulars (which can be found in the Online Appendix) also appear, but these references are made for the convenience of teachers and students. The references to this Online Appendix are not essential for following the text itself. What syntactical guidance is needed is supplied below the passage and on the same page. Finally, background information, notes on Caesarian style, and other relevant issues receive brief treatment, insofar as such commentary will help students understand and properly appreciate the Latin text. And, when students and/or teachers feel that students have adequately prepared the text, students may test their mettle with the unadorned and unannotated Latin text that we also provide on pp. 177–197.

A proper balance between too much and too little information in the confined space of a printed page is a delicate one. We have aimed for an *aurea mediocritās* (golden mean), but students and teachers will be the ultimate judges of whether we have hit or missed that mark. What we can say is that our only goal has been to provide a book that is useful, instructive, and pleasurable for all who care to become better acquainted with a pivotal historical figure and a classic of Roman prose—not to mention prepare effectively for the AP Latin exam.

### *A Note on the Same-page Vocabulary*

In the same-page (or running) vocabulary on each page, the numbers 1, 2, and 4 indicate for regular verbs the conjugation to which the verb belongs, and that their principal parts are formed according to the patterns of the model verbs **laudō**, **moneō**, and **audiō**, respectively; or, if the verb is deponent, according to the patterns of **hortor**, **vereor**, and **partior** (see App. §73).

Words in *italics* in the entry are explanatory and are not part of the definition. Words in square brackets are the root(s) from which a word is derived or another closely related word.

The symbol • follows the last letter of the base or stem of the word. To this base, subsequent syllables are added, e.g., **abīc•iō**, **-ere** = **abīciō**, **abīcere** or **āc•er**, **-ris**, **-re** = **ācer**, **ācris**, **ācre**. (NB: In Caesar's day, nouns that ended in **-ius** and **-ium** regularly had a genitive **-ī**, rather than **-iī**, e.g., **auxil•ium**, **-ī**. For details, see App. §16, *c*.)

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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**T**his book stands on the shoulders of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century textbooks.

The Latin text that appears in this edition has been prepared in close consultation with the following editions.

Renatus Du Pontet, ed. *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentariorum Pars Prior qua Continentur Libri VII De Bello Gallico cum A. Hirtii Supplemento*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.

Friedrich Kraner, ed. *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii De Bello Gallico*. 15th ed. rev. by W. Dittenberger. Berlin: Weidmann, 1890.

Carolus Nipperdeius [Karl Nipperdey], ed. *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii cum Supplementis A. Hirtii et Aliorum*. Leipzig: Breitkopfius et Haertelius, 1847.

T. Rice Holmes, ed. *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii Rerum in Gallia Gestarum VII; A. Hirti Commentarius VIII*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.

Macrons have been added in close consultation with the following editions.

Francis W. Kelsey, ed. *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii Rerum Gestarum: Caesar's Commentaries: The Gallic War, Books I-IV, with Selections from Books V-VII and from the Civil War: With an Introduction, Notes, a Companion to Caesar and a Vocabulary*. Boston, New York, & Chicago: Allyn and Bacon, 1918.

Arthur Tappan Walker, ed. *Caesar's Gallic War with Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary and Grammatical Appendix*. Chicago & New York: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1907.

Grammatical irregularities that appear in some, but not all, editions of Caesar have been regularized. This text prints, for example, *eīs* (rather than *iīs*) for the dative plural of *is*, *ea*, *id*, and the accusative plural of *finis* appears as *finēs* (rather than *finīs*).

The vocabulary and grammatical Online Appendix were taken with revisions from the edition of Arthur Tappan Walker cited above.

The Appendix: Figures of Speech containing grammatical and rhetorical figures was taken with revisions from the edition of Francis W. Kelsey cited above.

The English translation of Books One, Six, and Seven of the *Gallic War* is a revised version of

W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn (translators). *Caesar's Commentaries*. Harper's Classical Library. Harper & Brothers: New York, 1869.

In revising this literal translation, I aimed primarily to replace archaic diction (e.g., “cavalry” for “horse”) and to clarify sentence structure (e.g., by breaking up overly long sentences and by repeating explicitly the subjects and objects of many verbs—this may be clear enough in Latin, but frequently becomes opaque in a literal English translation). Our revised translation also uses Caesar's Latin names for the Gallic tribes rather than our own more colloquial English equivalents (e.g., “Helvetii” rather than “Helvetians,” although I generally prefer the latter in my own commentary, which, of course, represents a modern voice rather than Caesar's, hence the discrepancy).

The commentary itself also owes numerous debts of gratitude to these as well as many other still informative and useful school editions of Caesar that survive in print and online.

I offer my public and sincere thanks to Lou and Marie Bolchazy, Don Sprague, Bridget Buchholz, Jody Cull, Adam Velez, and Laurel De Vries of Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers; two anonymous and helpful referees; Christopher D. C. Choquette, my undergraduate research assistant at Union College; and, above all, my wife Terri, who suffered many an extended absence as I worked to complete the manuscript. Any errors that

remain belong by right to me. I hope that readers will find the pages that follow useful, and perhaps even pleurably instructive. And, if they do, they will have Caesar, his commentators, and the people I have just mentioned to thank for that useful pleasure and instruction.

HANS-FRIEDRICH MUELLER  
*Johannes Fridericus Molinarius*  
Union College  
Schenectady, New York



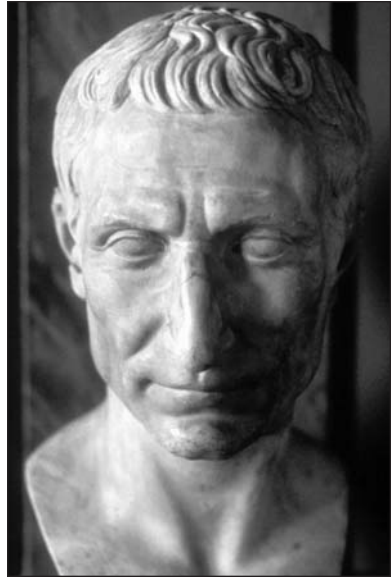
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## INTRODUCTION

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### **GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR:** *Politician, General, Author*

**G**aius Julius Caesar was born in 100 BCE, rising to become one of Rome's leading politicians and most successful generals as well as an accomplished orator and author of the first rank. After defeating his political opponents in a bitter civil war, Caesar reigned briefly as dictator before he was assassinated in 44 BCE. After his murder, the Roman Senate passed legislation declaring that Caesar had become a god. His impact on Rome's political and religious institutions was decisive and long lasting, and today his career still inspires both emulation and loathing, and we may trace the influence of Caesar's career in such founding documents of our own society as the Constitution of the United States.



This famous bust of Caesar presents an idealized portrait of the Roman leader. While portraits in the Republican period presented realistic representations, most of the portraits of Caesar present an idealized image.



## CAESAR'S LIFE

Caesar was born in troubled times. Two names from this period are important: Marius (157–86 BCE) and Sulla (138–79 BCE). Marius reformed the Roman army to include the lower classes, he held an unprecedented seven consulships, his politics tended to support politicians opposed to the interests of the conservative aristocracy, and he was married to Caesar's aunt, Julia. Sulla was Marius's former lieutenant, a great general in his own right, and dictator in Rome when Caesar was in his teens. After Sulla won supreme authority in Rome (by twice marching his army on the city), he reorganized the Roman constitution to restore, as he saw it, the Roman Senate (which was populated by the conservative aristocracy) to its rightful and dominant place and to suppress the tribunes of the people, who often rallied Rome's common people to support legislation opposed by the aristocracy. Politicians who worked to achieve consensus in the Senate were called *optimātēs* ("the best men"). Those willing to bypass the Senate to pass legislation in the people's assemblies were called *populārēs* ("men of the people"). These were not political parties but represented a style of politics and a loose set of alliances with like-minded colleagues. In many ways, it would be best to avoid these overused terms altogether, but the Romans themselves used these terms, as do many older accounts of Roman history. According to this traditional (and now disfavored scheme), Sulla was *optimās*; Marius *populāris*, as was Caesar. We might also simply describe Sulla and Marius as political enemies, and Caesar was related to the Marian faction.

Another element in Sulla's initial plan for political renewal was "proscriptions." Proscriptions entailed writing the names of political enemies on lists that would be posted in public. Proscribed men could be hunted down and killed. Those who did the hunting and killing earned a right to a portion of the proscribed man's estate. Pompey the Great (although he had not yet earned the title) was, like Caesar, young at the time, and he profited from Sulla's proscriptions, earning



This bust of Pompey displayed in the Louvre Museum in Paris shows us Pompey the statesman rather than the teenage butcher, *adulēscēntulus carnifex*.

the nickname “teenage butcher” (*adulēscēntulus carnifex*). Caesar, on the other hand, because of his connection to Marius as well as his refusal to divorce—yes, he was already married in his teens—a wife whose family had been hostile to Sulla, barely escaped proscription, and eventually had to travel to the East until things became safer in Rome.

While in the East, Caesar, like many upper-class Roman youths, served in the entourage of a Roman official and participated in battle where he earned the “civic crown.” The *corōna cīvica* was awarded to men who saved the lives of fellow citizens in battle. His biographers report that Caesar was also kidnapped by pirates, and that, after the ransom was collected and paid, he led an expedition to catch his former captors, personally overseeing their crucifixion. This episode illustrates the privileged status that upper-class Roman men—even very young ones—held across the Mediterranean world. After this adventure, Caesar went to Rhodes to study rhetoric (in Greek—upper-class Romans were generally bilingual) with Apollonius,

who was at the time a star teacher. Cicero studied with Apollonius too, and Caesar, like Cicero, became by all accounts one of Rome’s most accomplished orators.

In addition to military experience and work as a prosecutor in Rome’s courts, Caesar’s early career included numerous official posts, both military and civil. His elective posts included an aedileship in 65 BCE, notable for the games he put on (necessary for winning the favor of the voting public), as well as a somewhat scandalous election to Rome’s chief priesthood in 63 BCE. Caesar’s election as *pontifex maximus* was scandalous because Caesar was relatively young; because older, more established candidates, who had held the consulship, lost; and because Caesar had borrowed huge sums of money for the purpose of bribery. Politics at Rome were at this



The seated Caesar is portrayed as an author holding a papyrus manuscript in his left hand. The nineteenth-century Parliament building in Vienna, Austria is a grand tribute to the classical tradition. On the two large ramps at the front of the building, this statue of Julius Caesar joins fellow Roman historians Tacitus, Titus, Livy, and Sallust as well as the Greek historians Thucydides, Polybius, Xenophon, and Herodotus.

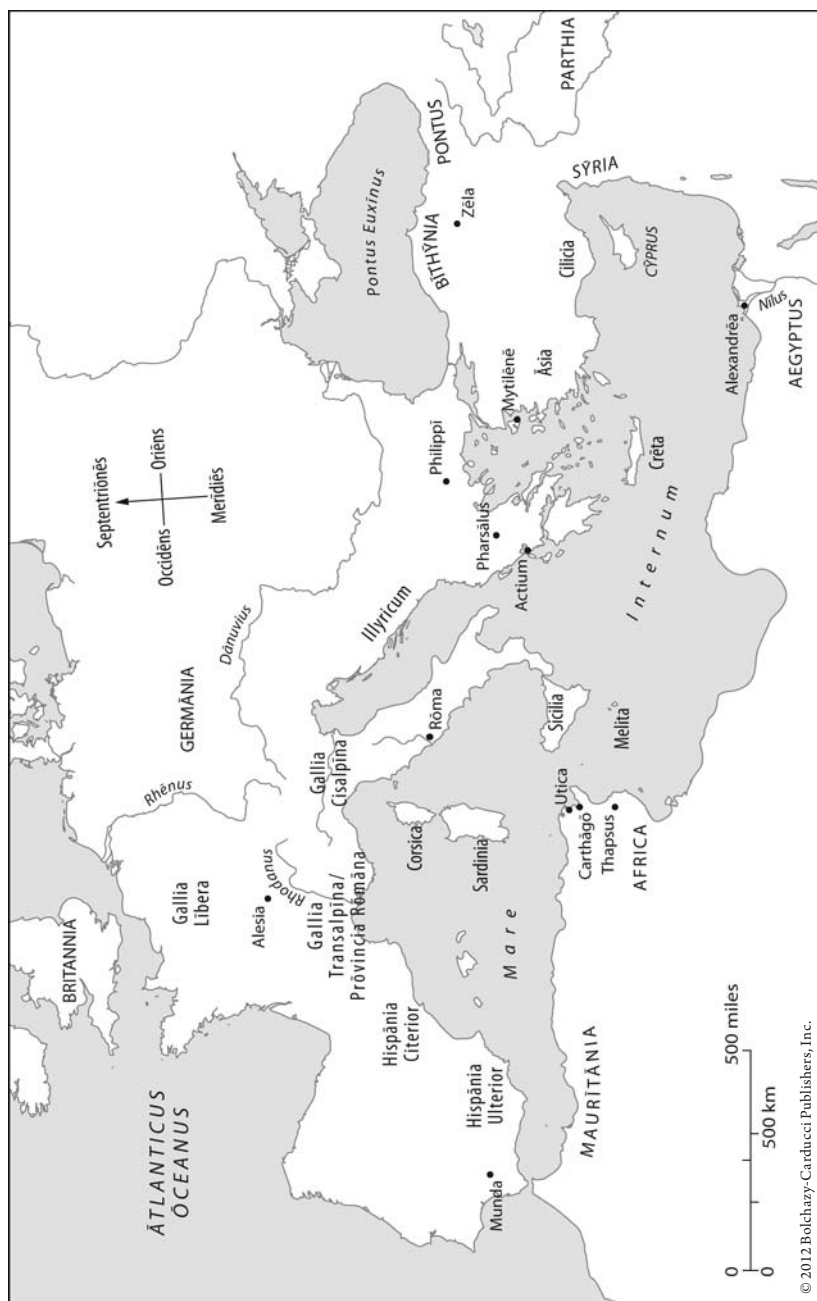
time hopelessly corrupt, and Caesar played the game well. Caesar had, in fact, borrowed so much money that, when he tried to leave for Spain, which was the province he was to govern in 61 BCE, his creditors went to court to prevent his departure. Caesar was able to depart only after Crassus, reputedly the richest man in Rome, as well as a successful politician and general in his own right, personally guaranteed Caesar's debts.

With the profits Caesar made governing in Spain (generals and soldiers shared in the profits derived from war, and Spain was inhabited by rebellious tribes), Caesar paid off his debts and prepared to run for election to the consulship. In this campaign, he was able to enlist the aid of two senior politicians, Pompey the Great and Crassus. Pompey and Crassus were enemies, but Caesar reconciled them and brokered a three-way alliance that would be mutually beneficial. The alliance, which they called "friendship" (*amicitia*), had no legal standing. It is frequently called the "first triumvirate," but this term implies an official commission sanctioned by the state. Even if its public impact was profound, their *amicitia* was, from a legal point of view, private. Pompey also married Caesar's daughter Julia. (Upper-class Roman marriages were strategic and political, although affection played a role sometimes too—especially after the fact.) After his election to the consulship in 59 BCE, Caesar used constitutionally dubious methods (e.g., physically preventing his colleague in the consulship, Bibulus, from participating, so that he could not veto proceedings) to pass legislation that would benefit his "friends."

At the end of his consulship, in addition to Illyricum (located on the Adriatic coast opposite northern Italy), Caesar received a proconsulship in the two Gauls, which, at the time, consisted of Cisalpine or Nearer Gaul (northern Italy) and Transalpine or Farther Gaul (the Mediterranean coast of what is now France). His initial command was for a period of five years, but, after he became involved in the conquest of the remainder of Gaul (roughly corresponding to what is now the rest of France), Caesar realized that it would take him longer than five years to accomplish the task. He was able to renew his alliance with Crassus and Pompey in 56 BCE and to complete the conquest of Gaul by 50 BCE. In the process, Caesar flooded Roman markets with slaves, acquired fabulous wealth, dispensed many political favors, won the fierce devotion of his soldiers, and increased the size of his army.

Roman politics had in the meantime entered into a critical phase. Caesar's daughter, Julia, who was married to Pompey (by all accounts, despite the political nature of their marriage, the two actually loved each

# ROMAN WORLD IN CAESAR'S DAY



other) died in childbirth in 54 BCE. Crassus was defeated in Parthia in 53 BCE and died in battle. Parthia ruled a territory roughly corresponding to what is now Iraq and Iran. The defeat was humiliating for Rome. After these events, Pompey began drifting into a closer alliance with leaders in the Roman Senate who were opposed to Caesar. Before his political alliance with Pompey fell apart, Caesar had been led to believe that he could celebrate a triumph (or military victory parade) in Rome as well as run for a second consulship. Instead, after winning Pompey over to their side, leading senators felt powerful enough to ruin Caesar's career, which, constitutionally speaking, they were entitled to do. They ordered Caesar to lay down his command, while, at the same time, allowing Pompey to retain his. Caesar refused to obey, so the Senate declared that Caesar was an outlaw. Caesar hesitated for a day, and then, crossing the Rubicon, the small river that divided his province from Italy proper, he invaded Italy in the middle of winter on January 10th, having uttered the famous words (if we can believe Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 32): *iacta ālea est* ("the die has been cast" [the Romans played with one *die*; we generally play with two or more *dice*]).

Pompey and the Senate appear to have been taken by surprise. They fled to Greece. Caesar secured Italy and then moved operations to Greece where he defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 BCE. Pompey fled to Egypt (still independent under the Ptolemies), where he was assassinated. Caesar arrived in Egypt too late to engage Pompey but became involved in a local dispute over who had the right to rule in Egypt. Caesar supported Cleopatra over her brother. Because he arrived with so few soldiers, Caesar was at times in real danger, but he eventually prevailed. After settling affairs in Egypt (and allegedly fathering a child with Cleopatra), Caesar moved on to the East where, in 47 BCE, he penned his famous report



One of the best preserved temples in Egypt, the Ptolemaic Temple dedicated to Hathor and Horus the Elder in Abydos contains relief sculptures completed after Cleopatra's suicide. This panel shows Cleopatra flanked by her son Caesarion. Symbolically, they stand before the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris.

from Zela: *vēnī, vīdī, vīcī* (“I came, I saw, I conquered”). But the civil war was not yet over. He had to fight senatorial armies in North Africa (46 BCE) and then in Spain (45 BCE).

After a bitter civil war, Caesar was faced with the task of reestablishing constitutional government. He had in the interim been named dictator, and, in 44 BCE, he was named dictator for life. On the other hand, Caesar originally invaded Italy on the grounds that he was defending elected leaders (tribunes) who had supported him, but had, along with himself, been declared outlaws by the Senate. He also argued that he was defending his soldiers’ interests as well as the honors that he had been promised and that he had earned. Dictatorship was convenient. It allowed Caesar to hold office continuously without the necessity of annual election. The rest of the machinery of government ran as usual, but Caesar controlled who could have what post. There is some evidence that he wished to become king, to establish his rule on the basis of his own divinity, or both, but this remains far from settled.



During his short rule in Rome, Caesar began urban improvements that included a renovation of the Curia, the Roman Senate house (Domitian’s restoration depicted). Coinage from the period shows acroteria celebrating the victory over Gaul mounted on the building’s roof. Behind the Curia, he began the forum of Julius Caesar whose temple to Venus Genetrix celebrated his divine origin traced back to Aeneas, son of Venus and legendary ancestor of Romulus, the founder of Rome.

Caesar did not possess sole rule for long, so it is impossible to say what his long-term plans were. During his short-lived administration, however, he attempted to settle economic affairs by relieving, but not abolishing, debt. This satisfied neither debtors nor creditors. He also reformed the calendar. With only modest adjustments, we still use Caesar’s calendar today, including an interesting anomaly. Logic dictated that the new year should begin on the day after the winter solstice (the shortest day of the year), but Roman religion required delay. We live with that delay to this day as well as with a month that still bears Caesar’s name: July.

Another political policy contributed to Caesar’s early demise. After his victory in the civil war, Caesar, unlike Sulla, preferred to forgive, rather than proscribe, his enemies,



reckoning that people who owed their very lives to him would demonstrate future gratitude. He was wrong in this calculation, as many of those whom he forgave joined the successful conspiracy to assassinate him. The conspirators struck during a meeting of the Senate on March 15 (the Ides), 44 BCE—the eve of Caesar’s planned departure for Parthia where he hoped to avenge Crassus’s humiliating defeat.



Shakespeare’s play *Julius Caesar* made the phrase “Beware the Ides of March” a well-known admonition. As Caesar heads to the Theater of Pompey where the Senate was meeting on the Ides of March, a soothsayer tries to warn him.

### CAESAR’S LEGACY

After Caesar’s murder, another round of civil war erupted, but not before the Senate declared that Caesar was a god. In his will, Caesar had adopted his great-nephew, Gaius Octavius (the son of his sister’s daughter), who adopted Caesar’s name, as did every subsequent Roman emperor. Caesar’s name eventually passed into other languages too with the meaning of “emperor,” such as *Kaiser* in German and *czar* in Russian. Caesar worship was transformed into emperor worship, and this worship of the emperors after they died and while they lived became an important element of

Roman administrative policy during the empire. This element of Roman religion eventually involved the Roman government in conflict with Jews and early Christians.

But Caesar's legacy goes beyond his calendar, his supposed divinity, and his name. The people of Gaul became Roman, and their descendants speak a form of Latin to this day. Caesar's example has also attracted imitators for thousands of years, and, in North America, fear of such would-be imitators haunted the framers of the U.S. Constitution. Whether or not Caesar had the moral right to attack Pompey and the Senate, from a legal perspective, Caesar trampled on Rome's constitution, which, as the framers of our constitution correctly diagnosed, had allowed him to acquire vast and virtually unchecked military power. Partly in reaction to this case study, a complex system of checks and balances was established in the United States to prevent any single individual from usurping supreme constitutional authority on Caesar's model.

Caesar is in every respect truly a pivotal historical figure. His career marks the final ruin of the Roman Republic, and his dictatorship served as the prelude to a constitutional reorganization that inaugurated the Roman Empire under his adoptive great-nephew Octavius (who became Augustus). We still reckon time by Caesar's reformed calendar, and our constitution continues to protect us from those who might otherwise try to imitate him. But why should we read Caesar's prose in Latin?

### CAESAR AS AN AUTHOR

Caesar wrote many works that do not survive, apart from some fragments, including a work on Latin grammar, *Dē analogiā*, which is an especially bitter loss for Latin teachers, but Latin students too—because Caesar did not like exceptions to grammatical rules.

Caesar's literary fame rests on his surviving "commentaries" on the Gallic and Civil Wars: *Commentārii dē bellō Gallicō* and *Commentārii dē bellō cīvili* (most likely not the original title). The first seven books of the *Gallic War* were composed by Caesar. Aulus Hirtius supplemented the work after Caesar's death, contributing an eighth book. Caesar also wrote the three books of the *Civil War*. These books were supplemented as well with books (authorship uncertain) on events in Egypt (the *Alexandrian War*), North Africa (the *African War*), and Spain (the *Spanish War*).

What were *commentārii*? Roman governors and generals wrote official reports, which they sent to the Senate. Caesar's actual reports to the Senate are not what we read today. We read reports modeled on the genre of



those reports. Why would Caesar have chosen a genre that imitated such reports? Caesar was the politician who, during his consulship, first published “minutes” or “proceedings of the Senate” (*acta Senātūs*), much to the resentment of the conservative aristocracy, who preferred to settle matters among themselves without public scrutiny. When Caesar departed for Gaul, he probably chose *commentārii* as a genre to publicize his accomplishments among as wide a public as possible in a format that made it appear as if he were sharing his official reports to the Senate with all Roman citizens. Caesar was also absent from Rome for nine years. His “dispatches” on the Gallic War would have been devoured by a public eager for news, and would have been promoted by Caesar’s political allies. Similarly, Caesar’s “reports” on the civil war were likely crucial in presenting Caesar’s side in this bitterly divisive conflict. When were these books published? How were they published? Did they appear serially or as a complete work? Were there revisions along the way? The answers to all these questions remain disputed. We do have testimony, however, that, although the genre was in general conceived of as providing the raw materials for historians, Caesar’s *commentārii* were considered so polished that they dissuaded competitors from attempting to rewrite his accounts, especially of his Gallic campaigns.

Caesar’s style has often been praised for its distinctive qualities. He tells his stories logically, clearly, and without obscure Latin vocabulary. If readers compare his prose to his contemporary Cicero or to the later historian Livy, they will soon perceive why Caesar’s style is called “plain.” His sentences, artfully constructed though they are, do not become involved in the complex syntax of subordinate and relative clauses (a style called “periodic”). His use of rhetorical devices is more subtle. He writes as a dispassionate observer, as opposed to the outraged orator or the emotional and moralizing historian.

Caesar also demotes himself to the third person. Much has been written on this topic, but one must consider his original audience at Rome: a public eagerly listening to reports about the progress of the Gallic war. Texts were often read aloud to larger groups who gathered to listen. If we compare, “When Caesar was informed of this, he decided to . . .” to “When I heard this, I reckoned I should . . .,” we can observe that the third person would seem more natural in reporting the great general’s accomplishments in the wilds of Gaul to a larger audience. Even upper-class “readers” frequently employed slaves to read texts to them out loud. If Caesar were not writing letters to people personally, the first person would have been jarring. Why would Caesar be speaking to them directly, especially if they were in a

group, and he was so far away in Gaul? With the help of the third person, the focus of the reports was more squarely on Caesar's actions rather than his authorship, and their plain and unemotional style lent them a seeming objectivity. How could they not be true? And Caesar does use the first person from time to time, but when he speaks as an author, not when he is telling a story in which he is another character, even though we know that he is the most important character in his own story!

Caesar's *commentārii* have seduced many readers over thousands of years with their seemingly objective authority. A cursory glance, however, at the bitterly partisan times in which they appeared quickly reveals what was at stake for Caesar: his reputation, his public career, and even his life, as the subsequent civil war and Caesar's murder amply demonstrate.

Caesar's view of the world is a pleasure to read, and his prose is convincing. *Caveat lector* (reader beware). Critically aware study of his texts will reap even richer harvests.

## THE CHAIN OF COMMAND: CAESAR AS GENERAL AND THE ROMAN ARMY

### *Commander-in-Chief*

Caesar, who had been consul in 59 BCE, arrived in his province as a proconsul, that is, a magistrate who came in place of (*prō*) a consul. A proconsul enjoyed the executive power of a Roman consul within his assigned sphere of operation, his *prōvincia* or province. Roman Gaul, however, was at the edge of the Roman world, and Caesar's province was protected by the Roman army. As governor, Caesar also served as commander-in-chief or leader (*dux*) or—after he won a victory, and was hailed as such—commander (*imperātor*) of the army. Who served in this army? Whole books are written on this topic, but we can sketch the basic principles here, and we will begin with the chain of command, and work our way from Caesar to subordinate officers to infantry and beyond.

Caesar enjoyed almost unlimited authority as a general. His power to punish enemies, for example, included execution, selling them into slavery, or, as his general Aulus Hirtius in his supplementary book on the Gallic War writes, chopping off the hands of those who had rebelled. Roman citizens had the right to appeal and were not supposed to be put to death without trial. The rules were different in the army. There was no appeal, and Caesar had the right, as general, to order the execution of deserters, thieves, and other criminals. Although the power of life and death dramatically

illustrates Caesar's authority, it does not offer a comprehensive or representative view. Generals do not lead by killing their men. Caesar exercised his authority judiciously, and he lets us know throughout his narrative how important the health and safety of his men were to him. Almost like the CEO of a large corporation, the *dux* had to build cities (camps), supply that city with food and other necessities, find new markets to fund profit-sharing (plunder), make travel arrangements (e.g., invade), manage hostile takeovers (battle), and negotiate contracts (treaties), as well as supervise and direct operations in the heat of battle.

The job was a difficult one, and Caesar's men depended on Caesar to look out for their interests. For Rome too, of course, Caesar also protected the safety and integrity of his province in a hostile and brutal world (as cruel as the Romans may seem to us—and they were—their enemies were no less cruel, rapacious, and violent). How did he manage these operations that involved thousands? We have touched on one key component, Caesar's authority or *imperium*, i.e., his right to give orders. The other key is obedience to authority and clear chains of command. *Fidēs* (loyalty or trust) was a key Roman virtue, and one that Caesar prized and rewarded. Just as soldiers require a general they can trust and in whom they have confidence, so also a general requires men who are loyal and upon whom he could rely. Hierarchy—and the Roman army raised hierarchy to the level of an art—was a two-way street, and we will be able to observe the important role trust and loyalty play in Caesar's narrative: from foreign allies (who frequently lack the quality) and Roman infantry (who possess it in abundance) to officers. (For other moral and military qualities of the Roman army, see the section below on centurions.)

### ***Lieutenants***

Let us review the ranks. Caesar, the commander-in-chief, relied heavily on his subordinate commanders or generals. Traditionally, we call them "lieutenants" in English, but the term in Latin is *lēgātus* or legate, that is, someone to whom Caesar delegates authority, and, when Caesar is not present, these legates represent the highest authority over whatever legion Caesar has placed them. Caesar mentions them frequently, as the legions were generally not all in one place or even close to each other, and communications were slow. These legates were powerful and important men in their own right, and some were better than others. Caesar blames his lieutenants for disasters (as he does in the selections from Book Five), but he singles them out for praise too. Caesar's most famous lieutenant (who would later

turn against Caesar and fight on Pompey's side during the Civil War that began immediately after the Gallic War) was Labienus. Caesar frequently relies on him, and he is generous with his praise. Also mentioned frequently are Cicero (the brother of the more famous orator) and the sons of Crassus (Caesar's great patron and political ally).

### ***The Officer Class***

These names will serve to illustrate another important point about the officer class. Elite officers were from the highest social, political, and economic classes at Rome. Roman politics followed generals wherever they went, and Roman generals were, of course, also politicians. Politicians have favors to confer and favors to repay, and the Roman army was full of posts not just for relatives of men as famous and powerful as Crassus and Cicero, but also for younger men and other hangers-on of the upper classes more generally, who joined the armies of powerful politician-generals in search of training, political connections, and profit. These lesser officers were not always particularly helpful, as they were not infrequently liable to panic. Caesar mentions such men from time to time, but generally as a group or class.

Another important officer was the *quaestor* or quartermaster, who was in charge of money and supplies. Generals had to bring large amounts of cash (which they carried in chests) to pay troops and purchase supplies. Maintaining a sufficient supply of grain (Romans preferred bread to meat) was a constant concern. It is perhaps not surprising that, like the general himself, the *quaestor* was accompanied by a bodyguard (*cohors praetoria*) of elite soldiers, generally from the upper classes (yet another job opportunity for aspiring young men as well as political patronage for the general).

Each legion had six military tribunes (*tribūnī militum*) who could be put in charge of groups or detachments of various sizes. This rank offered Caesar an additional opportunity for political appointments and personal favors.

Despite the political nature of many appointments, it would be a mistake to conclude that Rome's officer class lacked competent and dedicated men. Motivations, experience, talent, and luck varied from individual to individual. Caesar looked for competence, and he put many men to efficient use. He also used them as a sounding board. It was standard Roman practice for generals to seek advice from their advisory council (*consilium*) on important decisions or major points of strategy. Although Caesar does not talk about his own discussions, he does share discussions that took place in the councils of his legates.

### **Centurions**

Below the elite officer class, we find the men and leaders who did most of the fighting, and the men on whom Caesar frequently relied, especially in the heat of battle. Men of the lowest social classes could aspire to this rank, as one earned one's post by meritorious service. There was a hierarchy among this rank of officers as well, but, in general, centurions (something like a captain) or *centuriōnēs* (also *ordinēs*) commanded the basic unit of the Roman legion, the century (*ordō*) or company. (See the discussion below for the organization of the legion.) Centurions were veteran soldiers who had proven their qualities in battle. The word in Latin for character and moral quality is *virtūs*—literally, “manliness”—and centurions embodied that value in its most elemental sense. They tended to be brave, loyal, self-sacrificing, disciplined leaders of the common soldiers. They were the heart—the core—of the Roman army, and Caesar frequently singles them out for praise. He depended on them.

### **The Infantry**

In Caesar's day, Roman legions were staffed entirely by Roman citizens. Common enlisted men (*militēs*) served in the Roman infantry. They fought on foot, hence also the term foot soldiers (*peditēs* and *peditātus*). These men were either volunteers or conscripts. Volunteers signed up for a term of twenty years. In return, they received a steady job, an income, a pension, and profit-sharing (plunder). All male Roman citizens, however, between the ages of 17 and 45 were also subject to the draft or conscription at any time, and, as you will read, when Caesar needed more troops, he conducted a levy (*dīlectus*). Caesar was an industrious recruiter, and he increased the size of his army dramatically over the ten years of the Gallic campaign. This would enable him to take on Pompey and the Roman Senate in the subsequent Civil War.

### **The Legion**

How many men were there and how were they organized? Numbers varied over time, but during the Gallic War, one legion (*legiō*) had about 3,600 troops. Each legion was divided into ten cohorts (*cohortēs*). Each cohort had three maniples (*manipulī*). Each maniple had two centuries or companies (*ordinēs*). These subsets within the legion allowed the general to control the movement of formations with some precision, even in the heat of battle, through the chain of command.

If we do the math:

1 legion = 3,600 men

10 cohorts of 360 men

30 maniples of 120 men

60 centuries of 60 men

Looking at it another way:

1 legion = 10 cohorts

1 cohort = 3 maniples

1 maniple = 2 centuries

1 century = 60 men

Each legion was called by a number, and Caesar's favorite legion was the tenth. When Caesar arrived in his province, there were four experienced legions (*legiōnēs veterānae*). He immediately conscripted two more legions, and would continue to levy troops as the war dragged on. If you have kept up with the math, you will realize that Caesar had over twenty thousand legionary soldiers at his disposal soon after he arrived in Gaul. He had other fighting men too, but, before we turn to them, let us return to organization.

### **Communications**

Each legion had an eagle (*aquila*), which was carried on a long pole by an eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*). A legion also had standards (*signa*), carried by a standard-bearer (*signifer*), for each maniple. These standards were an important element in military communications as well as important for maintaining spirit and discipline within the legion and its individual units. A legion followed its eagle and treated its eagle, which was stored in a shrine, with religious reverence. It was beyond shameful to lose an eagle. Eagles were, moreover, Jupiter's special bird, and Jupiter was the chief god of the Roman state. And, if we imagine the noise and confusion of battle, we quickly grasp one of the principal practical purposes of standards. They too involved emblems carried atop long poles. Soldiers could see the standard above people's heads, and, by following their assigned standards, would know in what direction to proceed, even if they could not hear commands. Other means of nonverbal communication included flags (*vexillae*) and trumpets (*tubae*). Communication was a challenge.



This statue of Claudius, the fifth of Caesar's successors in the Julio-Claudian dynasty of emperors, depicts several important Roman symbols—the crown of laurel leaves, the fasces in his left hand and the libation plate in his right, and the *aquila*. The eagle was associated with Jupiter and as a symbol came to represent the imperial power of Rome and subsequently the Holy Roman Empire. One tradition states that Caesar wore the laurel crown so as to hide his baldness. Roman emperors were regularly hailed as “Caesar.”

To keep up more complex lines of communication, Caesar employed a variety of messengers and letters, sometimes written in code. Patrols on horseback (*explōrātōrēs*) were sent out to keep a close watch on local surroundings. Scouts and spies (*speculātōrēs*) were employed where less conspicuous observation was required.

### ***Non-Roman Troops***

Caesar also employed foreign soldiers. Auxiliary troops (*auxilia*) were trained in the same fashion as the Roman infantry. They were often placed at the end of the battle lines or wings (*ālāe*). More specialized troops included light-armed soldiers, slingers (*funditōrēs*), who used slingshots, archers (*sagittārii*), and, more spectacularly, cavalry (*equitēs* or *equitātus*). Each legion had a cavalry contingent of about two to three hundred. These foreign mercenaries hailed primarily from Spain and Germany, but Caesar also employed Gallic cavalry.

### ***Non-Combatants***

The army would not have been complete without a large support staff. These included camp slaves (*cālōnēs*), muleteers (*mūliōnēs*), traders (*mercātōrēs*), who sold goods to the soldiers and purchased plunder from them, and engineers (*fabrī*), who helped build siegeworks, ships, bridges, and more.

### ***Baggage***

Caesar frequently mentions baggage (*impedimenta*). The army had to bring tents, weapons, food, cash (which was heavy), building materials, cooking utensils, supplies, and an entourage that included a menagerie of animals.



Soldiers carried their own equipment. The army also had wagons and mules. After taking a city by storm, the army would acquire plunder, which could consist of things, but also people, whom they could sell as slaves to the traders for cash, but then they would have to carry the cash. You will frequently read, however, about measures taken to protect the baggage as well as how enemy troops aimed at plundering the Romans' baggage. Baggage also could hinder the effectiveness of a legion. It slowed them down, and they worried about losing it.

### ***A Male Microcosm of Rome***

A Roman army was a highly complex operation, and was much like a Roman city (if Roman cities had been populated only by adult men). A knowledge of its basic outlines will help readers appreciate the challenges, successes, and failures of Caesar's campaigns.

## ***An Overview of the Gallic War***

Rome rose over centuries from a small city-state to an imperial power that dominated an area larger than the continental United States—all of the Mediterranean and much of Northern Europe. Caesar's conquest of Gaul represents a part toward the conclusion of that larger story of conquest. This addition to Rome's empire is, however, especially fascinating for several reasons. We have the public professions of the man who decided on the invasion, and who found the means to pursue the war for almost nine years until the job was finished. This war also played a crucial role in the development of Caesar's career, and thus, in a sense, in the revolution that would soon overwhelm the Roman Republic. Let us review briefly this war both as it is described by Caesar and in the context of Caesar's larger career.

As we outlined above, Caesar arrived in his "Gallic provinces" (i.e., northern Italy and the Mediterranean coast along what is now the south of France) in 58 BCE, the year after his consulship of 59 BCE. By some reports, his first inclination was to win further military glory in Illyricum (territory along the Adriatic coast opposite Italy and corresponding to northern Albania and parts of the former Yugoslavia). Why? Military glory provided immense political capital in Roman politics, and Caesar's goal was to remain a powerful political force at Rome. For this reason, he required military glory to match his son-in-law Pompey's, and he also needed a great deal more cash. This is not an element of Roman politics that receives as much discussion,



but, even if it is tawdry, it was essential. Roman politics for reasons we cannot describe in detail here required enormous sums of money (suffice it to say that political support could be purchased), and, for the ancient entrepreneur, war could be extremely profitable as well as a source of publicity and glory. Conquered cities and villages could be plundered for their material goods, of course, but another rich source of wealth was the local population, who could be sold into slavery. Soldiers and generals shared in the profits. In the modern world, plundering is a war crime and slavery is a crime against humanity, and rightly so, but the ancient world had very different and much harsher rules. Wherever the Roman army went, slave traders followed. These traders would buy and sell other goods too, of course, but the slave trade was an immense source of profit. The Roman army was in many respects a mercantile operation. Caesar, because he was ambitious, needed a war, if not in Illyricum, then in Gaul.

Were there no constraints on ambitious generals? There were, in fact, many: legal, religious, and moral. Romans attributed their military success to their devotion to the gods, to their moral code (the *mōs māiōrum* or “customs of their ancestors”), and their laws. The Romans did not fight aggressive wars, as that would be unjust. They did not aim to conquer and enslave their neighbors. That would violate the “law of nations” (*ius gentium*; a primitive equivalent of international law).

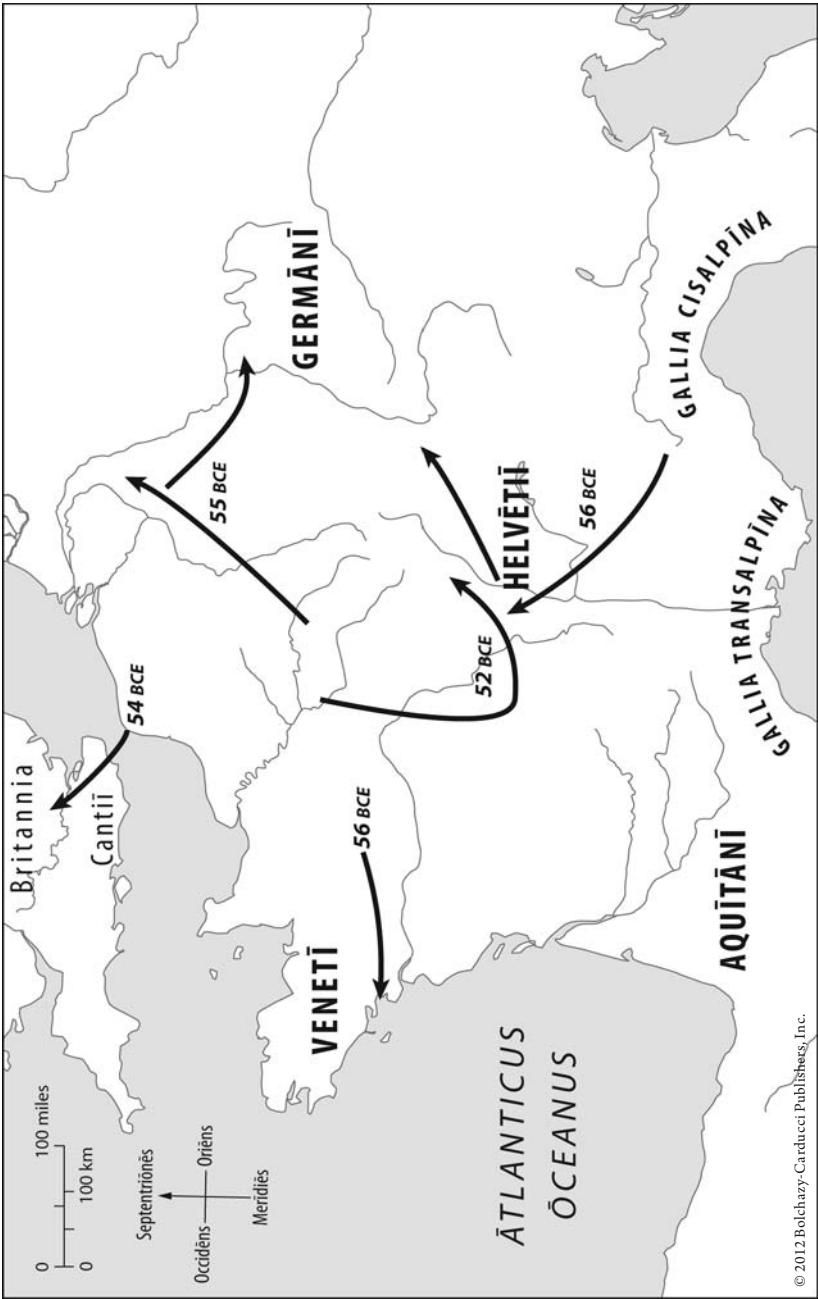
How in the world then did Rome end up with an empire? That is the age-old question, and it has many answers. Historians disagree. By way of partial answer, we can look at the situation at the beginning of Caesar’s governorship of Roman Gaul. In Book One of his *Dē Bellō Gallicō*, Caesar tells us that the Helvetii wished to move from their homes in a territory that corresponds to what is now Switzerland to other Gallic territories that were outside Roman territory. How did that affect Rome? At first the Helvetii asked whether Caesar would permit them to pass through Roman territory on their way to non-Roman territory. Caesar said no. The Helvetii then tried to emigrate by another route through non-Roman territory. Even though these events took place on non-Roman territory, Caesar used them to justify an incursion with his army into non-Roman territory in order to prevent the Helvetii from emigrating. Why? The migration of the Helvetii represented a danger for Roman territory. Caesar explains this at greater length in the AP selections from Book One, but the main point is clear. Caesar first enters Gaul in order to deal with a relatively minor local threat to Roman territory on the grounds that he was thereby protecting Roman interests. Caesar’s war was (in this presentation) not aggressive; it was defensive.

All Roman wars were justified in similar terms, and this is why historians disagree. Some historians agree with the Roman point of view while others sympathize with the people the Romans conquered. Caesar himself tells us nothing of politics in Rome or Rome's larger strategic interests, and he certainly does not tell us that he aims to enrich himself and his allies for the sake of his future political career. That would have been crass, morally offensive, and illegal. Did Caesar perhaps protect Rome from a real threat? Indeed, Rome's neighbors were hardly pacifists devoted to peace, love, and harmony. Gauls as well as the Germanic tribes who were continually infiltrating Gaul from across the Rhine were fierce and warlike people. What does all this say about Caesar's character? The question is well worth discussing, as few people are entirely good or entirely evil, and Caesar was, it is safe to assume, no exception to this general rule. Caesar likely combined Rome's interests with his own on the basis of traditional Roman thinking about defense and in the context of Roman politics as it existed in Caesar's day. Leaders who can combine their own interests with the interests of larger groups generally stand a better chance of success than those who are purely self-seeking. In the final analysis, however, the burden of accounting for Caesar's motivations falls on his modern readers because Caesar presents the war in his *commentārii* as a simple series of events. Each campaign leads naturally from the previous campaign.

Let us turn then to that series of events, as Caesar describes them in the *Dē Bellō Gallicō*. After our survey, we can place this war in the context of Caesar's subsequent career and assess its impact for Caesar and for Rome.

I. In Book One, Caesar arrives in his province in 58 BCE to discover that the Helvetii are on the move. Caesar leads his army into non-Roman Gallic territory and, after defeating the Helvetii in battle, compels them to return to their homes on the grounds that their otherwise vacant lands would be an open invitation for Germans (an even more warlike and dangerous people) to settle on the vacated territory that is just across the border from the Roman Province. After this action, Caesar calls an assembly of the Gauls and receives a number of complaints about a German leader, Ariovistus, who has brought his followers across the Rhine into Gallic territory. Caesar campaigns against Ariovistus and thus "frees" the Gauls from German oppression.

CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS



Here we observe another common method the Romans used to justify intervention. Rome defended friends against their friends' enemies. Caesar thus becomes a significant force in the politics of non-Roman Gaul. Moreover, he does not leave Gaul but instead establishes winter quarters (ancient armies generally did not fight in winter when it was difficult to secure supplies) in Gallic territory. The invasion of Gaul has thus been launched and the military occupation of Gaul has begun. The next seven books will describe what it took to finish the job.

II. In Book Two, which relates the events of 57 BCE, Caesar campaigns against Belgic tribes in northern Gaul, thus extending his military power and political sway. At Rome, the Senate decrees fifteen days of prayers and sacrifices to the immortal gods in thanks for Caesar's successes.

III. Book Three covers events from 57 through 56 BCE. Various campaigns throughout Gaul continue to extend and solidify Caesar's effective military control over the whole territory.



Ehrenbreitstein, the Prussian castle-fortress, at Koblenz, the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle rivers, hosts the local museum of history. Depicted is a faithful reconstruction of a Roman pile driver, one of the tools the Romans used to build bridges. In building a bridge across the Rhine, Caesar knew the psychological impact of demonstrating Rome's superior technology.

IV. By 55 BCE, military affairs seem fairly secure throughout Gaul, so, as Book Four describes, Caesar moves his military operations across the Rhine into German territory. This expedition is designed as a lesson to German leaders that Roman armies can hurt them in their own territory. The bridge that Romans built across the Rhine was another demonstration of their superior abilities. After this demonstration of Roman strength against the Germans, Caesar decides to sail to Britain and has a fleet built for this purpose. The fleet is damaged by a storm, but, after inflicting some defeats on local Britons, Caesar manages to repair the loss of his ships and to transport his troops safely back to the mainland. These expeditions against Germans and Britons were more spectacular than practical from a local military point of view, but they were effective in building Caesar's political popularity at Rome. The Senate this time decreed twenty days of prayers and sacrifices to the immortal gods in thanks for Caesar's military successes.

V. In Book Five, which describes the events of 54 BCE, Caesar begins to experience setbacks. His second expedition to Britain is again marred by trouble with storms as well as some difficult fighting. The troops acquit themselves well, however, and Caesar manages to transport them to the mainland for winter. But, after the troops have been dispersed to widely separated winter quarters, Belgic tribes rise in revolt and manage to destroy one Roman legion before Caesar can come to the relief of others.

VI. In Book Six, which describes the events of 53 BCE, there are continued revolts among the Gauls. Caesar also describes the customs, political organization, and religion of Gauls and Germans.

VII. Troubles continue in Book Seven, which describes the events of 52 BCE. Caesar calls it a "conspiracy," but the Gauls gather as a people and select Vercingetorix as the leader of their united effort to drive the Romans, their camps, and their armies from Gallic territory. The Gauls fight desperately for freedom. Even Caesar recognizes this, and respects them as he fights to conquer them. This struggle culminates in the siege of a city called Alesia. Eventually, Alesia and Vercingetorix

submit to Caesar. At Rome, the Senate decrees another twenty days of prayers and sacrifices to the immortal gods in thanks for Caesar's military successes.

VIII. The capitulation of Alesia represents the dramatic turning point of the war, but the work of conquest was not entirely done. Book Eight describes the military operations that continue in 51 and 50 BCE to suppress the revolt finally and completely. This book was not written by Caesar, however, but by one of his lieutenants, Aulus Hirtius.



The bronze statue of Caesar in military dress stands in front of the first-century Porta Palatina in Turin, Italy. Caesar is joined by a similar statue of his grand-nephew Caesar Augustus. Ancient Turin, *Augusta Taurinorum*, was part of Cisalpine Gaul.

We have surveyed in a few short paragraphs a difficult war that lasted almost nine years. Caesar won that war and, immediately after completing it, marched his armies on Rome in January 49 BCE, thus beginning the war against his own government that would eventually lead to his dictatorship. We have already sketched this chronology in the paragraphs above. A question that we may ask after our brief survey of the Gallic War is how Caesar's conquest of Gaul fits into the larger context of his life and career. The conquest of Gaul was crucial and the consequences are difficult to overstate. Caesar emerged from this war with a loyal, well-trained, and substantially larger army. Caesar also emerged from this war a fabulously wealthy man who had throughout its duration used the wealth that he had acquired to purchase friends, allies, and influence in Roman politics. Caesar's well-publicized victories had also bought tremendous political capital among the people of Rome and Italy. Romans liked winners,

and they admired Caesar's victories over the warlike peoples of the North. Caesar was the hero of the day among many, even when he marched his army against Rome's government. The war in Gaul transformed Caesar from a leading politician into one of the two dominant military and political leaders of Rome. The war in Gaul transformed Caesar into a colossus: Caesar had become Pompey's near equal, and Caesar had become strong enough to challenge Pompey and the Senate. The result was the Roman Civil War. The conquest of Gaul was central to Caesar's subsequent success against his enemies, and thus, in no small measure, a contributing factor to the final destruction of the Republic.

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## — SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS —

§ = section	ind. = indicative
† = word appears in the high-frequency word list.	indecl. = indeclinable
abbr. = abbreviation	indef. = indefinite
abl. = ablative	inf. = infinitive
acc. = accusative	infs. = infinitives
adj. = adjective	interrog. = interrogative
adv. = adverb	m. = masculine
App. = Appendix	n. = neuter
BC = <i>Bellum Cīvile</i>	nom. = nominative
BG = <i>Bellum Gallicum</i>	num. = numeral
card. = cardinal	obs. = obsolete
cf. = <i>cōnfer</i> (i.e., compare)	ord. = ordinal
comp. = comparative	p., pp. = page, pages
conj. = conjunction	part. = participle
dat. = dative	pass. = passive
def. = defective	perf. = perfect
dim. = diminutive	pl. = plural
e.g. = <i>exempli grātiā</i> (i.e., for example)	plupf. = pluperfect
etc. = <i>et cētera</i> (i.e., and so on)	poss. = possessive
f. = feminine	prep. = preposition
freq. = frequentative	preps. = prepositions
fut. = future	pres. = present
gen. = genitive	pron. = pronoun
i.e. = <i>id est</i> (i.e., that is)	rel. = relative
imperat. = imperative	reflex. = reflexive
impers. = impersonal	sc. = <i>scīlicet</i> (i.e., supply)
impf. = imperfect	sing. = singular
	superl. = superlative



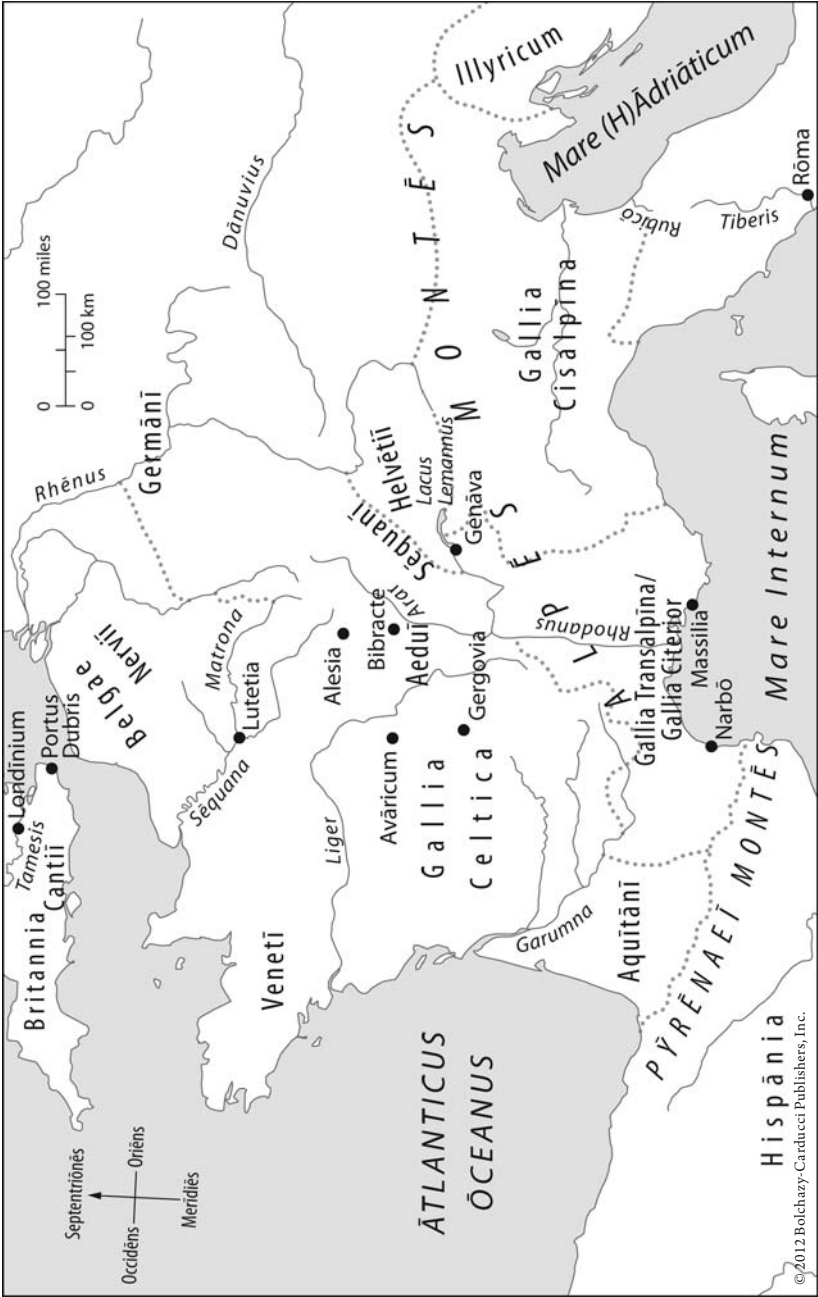
— SELECTIONS FROM *DE BELLO GALLICO* —

C. IVLI CAESARIS  
COMMENTARIORUM  
DE BELLO GALLICO  
LIBER PRIMVS

*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.1–7:*  
*Caesar Describes Gaul and Begins the War*

Caesar begins his work with a famous sentence about the ethnic geography of Gaul, a territory corresponding roughly to what is today modern France. Today, of course, most inhabitants of France speak French, a form of modern Latin. In Caesar's day, the territory was primarily inhabited by Celts (or Kelts) who spoke their own Celtic languages and dialects. Caesar must introduce his audience to the territory in which he will spend the better part of a decade campaigning. Did Gaul (whether they wanted it or not) need Roman protection from more savage Germanic invaders farther east? Were Caesar's foes (both Gallic and, potentially, German) formidable? Who were these Gauls who lived beyond Roman rule, as opposed to the Gauls who had, according to traditional Roman chronology, sacked Rome in 390 BCE, or who, in Caesar's day, lived under Roman administration along the Mediterranean coast or in northern Italy? These are the questions Caesar will answer. The geography and topography set the context for the people who lived there and for the general who would spend the next eight years conquering them. The Gauls fought hard for their freedom and independence. Caesar and his men fought harder.

GAUL



## *Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.1: A Lesson in Geography and Ethnography*

[1.1] *Gallia est omnis dīvisā in partēs trēs, quārum ūnam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquītānī, tertiam quī ipsōrum linguā Celtae, nostrā Gallī appellantur. Hī omnēs linguā, institūtīs, lēgibus inter sē differunt.*

**appell•ō, -āre**, 1, call, name.

**Aquītān•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Aquitani or Aquitanians (*a people located on the Atlantic coast above the Pyrenees, the mountains that separate the Iberian peninsula from Gaul*).

**Celt•ae, -ārum**, *m.*, the Celts or Kelts, the Celtae.

**commentāri•us, -ī**, *m.* [**commentor**, consider], notebook, journal; report; commentary.

**differō, differre, distuli, dilātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], scatter, spread; put off, defer; be different, differ.

**di•vidō, -videre, dīvisī, dīvisum**, divide, distribute, separate.

**Galic•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [**Gallia**, Gaul], pertaining to Gaul or the Gauls, Gallic.

**incol•ō, -ere, -uī, —** [**colō**, cultivate], inhabit, dwell in.

**institūt•um, -ī**, *n.*, established plan or principle; custom, institution, habit.

**lēx, lēgis**, *f.*, law, statute.

**lib•er, -rī**, *m.*, book, work, treatise.

**lingu•a, -ae**, *f.*, language, tongue.

**1. Gallia:** Gaul or the territories known today as France and northern Italy. From the Roman perspective, the Alps divided Gaul on “this side (*cis*) of the Alps” from the Gaul that was “across (*trans*) the Alps”: *Gallia Cisalpina* vs. *Gallia Transalpina*. Another Gaul was the area beyond the Alps, but along the Mediterranean, which the Romans frequently called *Prōvincia* or “the Province.” To this day, the French call the area “Provence.” Caesar refers in this passage to the part of Gaul not yet under Roman rule.

**omnis:** “as a whole”; that is, if one looks at the entire territory, one finds three major ethnic groups among which territory has been “distributed.”

**1–2. partēs . . . incolunt:** note the ellipsis (which is to leave out something that can be supplied from context) of the words *pars* and *incolunt* in the rest of the sentence: **quārum** (*partium*) **ūnam** (*partem*) **incolunt Belgae**, **aliam** (*partem incolunt*) **Aquītānī**, **tertiam** (*partem incolunt*), etc.

**2. quī = eī quī.**

**linguā:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**2–4. linguā, institūtīs, lēgibus:** abl. of respect or specification; see App. §149. Caesar does not use a conj. in this list. This is common in Latin, and is called *ASYNDETON*. Feel free to supply an “and” in your translation.

**3. nostrā:** again, ellipsis, this time of **linguā**.

- 5 *Gallōs ab Aquitānīs Garumna flūmen, ā Belgīs Matrona et*  
*Sēquana dīvidit. Hōrum omnium fortissimī sunt Belgae,*  
*propterea quod ā cultū atque hūmānitāte prōvinciae longissimē*  
*absunt, minimēque ad eōs mercātōrēs saepe commeant atque*  
 10 *proximīque sunt Germānīs, quī trāns Rhēnum incolunt,*  
*quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt.*

**absūm, abesse, āfui**, — [sum, be. App.

§78], be away, be distant, be lacking.

**anim-us, -ī, m.**, mind; character; spirit, soul; courage.

**Aquitān-ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Aquitani or Aquitanians (*a people located on the Atlantic coast above the Pyrenees, the mountains that separate the Iberian peninsula from Gaul*).

**commēō**, 1 [meō, go], go back and forth; with **ad**, resort to, visit.

**continenter**, *adv.* [continēns, continuous], continually.

**cult-us, -ūs, m.** [colō, cultivate], civilization; lifestyle; dress; religious worship.

**dī-vidō, -videre, divisi, divisum**, divide, distribute, separate.

**effeminō**, 1 [ex + fēmina, woman], make effeminate, weaken.

**fort-is, -e, adj.**, strong, brave.

**Garumn-a, -ae, m.**, the Garumna or

Garonne, *a river that formed the boundary between Aquitania and Celtic Gaul*.

**hūmāni-tās, -tātis, f.** [hūmānus, human], humanity, culture, refinement.

**importō**, 1 [in + portō, carry], carry or bring in, import.

**incol-ō, -ere, -uī**, — [colō, cultivate], inhabit, dwell in.

**Matron-a, -ae, m.**, the river Matrona, now called the Marne.

**mercāt-or, -ōris, m.** [mercor, trade], merchant, trader.

**minimē**, *adv.* [minimus, least], least, very little; not at all.

**propterea**, *adv.* [propter, because of], on this account; **propterea quod**, because.

**saepe**, *adv.*, often, frequently.

**Sēquan-a, -ae, m.**, the river Sequana, now called the Seine. *It flows across much of northern Gaul, and, more famously today, flows through Paris*.

**trāns**, *prep. with acc.*, across, beyond, over.

**5. Garumna flūmen:** flūmen agrees with and is in apposition to **Garumna**; see App. §95, b.

**5–6. Gallōs . . . dīvidit:** Caesar achieves his terse style in large measure through the ease with which Latin writers can, thanks to the clarity of Latin inflection, use ellipsis. You will need to supply *Gallōs, flūmen*, and *dīvidit* where appropriate to make sense of the grammar.

**6. dīvidit:** sing., because verb agrees with each river separately.

**Hōrum:** partitive gen.; see App. §101.

**7. prōvinciae:** Caesar appears to argue that proximity to a sophisticated and refined

lifestyle (**cultū atque hūmānitāte**) makes men less warlike. The main city in the Province was Massilia (now Marseilles), originally a Greek colony, and the merchants who operated from this base had much to sell (wine, for example) that could shift men's thoughts from war to pleasure. Caesar looks ahead to his narrative about fighting Germans, whom he reckons even more warlike than the Gauls.

**7–8. quod . . . absunt:** for the indicative mood, as Caesar gives his own reason, see App. §244.

**8. minimē . . . saepe:** employing the figure of speech called LITOTES, Caesar negates "often" with "least," hence "very seldom."

- Quā dē causā Helvētīi quoque reliquōs Gallōs virtūte praecēdunt, quod ferē cotidiānīs proeliīs cum Germānīs contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eōs prohibent aut ipsī in eōrum finibus bellum gerunt.
- 15 Eōrum ūna pars, quam Gallōs obtinēre dictum est, initium capit ā flūmine Rhodanō, continētur Garumnā flūmine, Ōceanō,

**con•tendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentum**

[**tendō**, stretch], push forward, hasten; march; fight; maintain.

**cotidiān•us, -a, -um, adj. [cotidiē, daily],**

daily; customary.

**Garumn•a, -ae, m., the Garumna or**

Garonne, a river that formed the boundary between Aquitania and Celtic Gaul.

**init•ium, -ī, n. [ineō, go into], beginning,**

commencement, origin; edge of a country, borders.

**ob•tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum [teneō, hold], hold, retain, possess, maintain; acquire.**

**Ōcean•us, -ī, m., the ocean.**

**prae•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum [cēdō, go], go before; surpass, excel.**

**prohibeō, 2 [habeō, hold], keep from, prevent, prohibit; keep out or away from; guard.**

**quoque, conj., following the word emphasized, also, too, likewise.**

**12. Quā dē causā:** *conjunctio relativa*: the rel. is used as a conj., and the phrase is thus equivalent to *et dē eā causā*; see App. §173.

**virtūte:** abl. of respect or specification.

**12–14. Helvētīi . . . suis . . . ipsī:** the reflex. **suis** refers to the subject, i.e., the Helvetii, and **ipsī**, the intensive pron., serves to remind readers that the Helvetii remain the subject.

**13. proeliīs:** abl. of means, but “in battles,” because preps. do not map neatly from language to language. Work to adjust your translation to respect English idioms and rules.

**13–14. Germānīs . . . eōs . . . eōrum:** Caesar uses the non-reflex. pron. **eōs** and **eōrum** to refer to the Germans because they are *not* the subject.

**14. suis finibus:** abl. of separation; see App. §134.

**15. Eōrum:** poss. gen.; see App. §99.

**Eōrum ūna pars:** partitive gen. (in reference, presumably, to all the parts belonging to all of the various Gauls previously

mentioned). Most readers find the rest of this chapter vague; harsh critics have gone further. A map helps to some extent, but difficulties remain. Some scholars believe that the rest of this chapter was not actually written by Caesar, but inserted by someone who thought we needed more geography, and some texts even omit the section altogether.

**quam . . . Gallōs:** **quam** is the direct object and **Gallōs** is the subject of the inf. **obtinēre**; see App. §123. The whole phrase in turn is the subject of the impers. verb **dictum est**; see App. §266. The syntax is difficult to parse, but the meaning is clear: “which it has been said the Gauls possess.”

**16. ā flūmine:** the river forms a boundary “from which” the writer imagines that the territory begins, but experiment with other prep. in English, e.g., “at,” “on,” “along,” “on the side of,” etc. Look at the map: using the river as your guide, how would you describe the geography?



20 *finibus Belgārum, attingit etiam ab Sēquanīs et Helvētiīs flūmen Rhēnum, vergit ad septentrionēs. Belgae ab extrēmīs Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiōrem partem flūminis Rhēnī, spectant in septentrionem et orientem sōlem. Aquitānia ā Garumnā flūmine ad Pŷrēnaeōs montēs et eam partem Ōceanī quae est ad Hispāniam pertinet; spectat inter occāsum sōlis et septentrionēs.*

**Aquitān•ia, -ae, f.**, Aquitania. *Southwestern Gaul between the Garonne River and the Pyrenees Mountains (which separate the Iberian peninsula from Gaul).*

**atting•ō, -ere, attingī, attactum** [ad + tangō, touch], touch or border on, reach, extend to, arrive at, attain.

**extrēm•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*superl. of exterus*. App. §44], outermost, farthest; the farthest part of.

**Garumn•a, -ae, m.**, the Garumna or Garonne, a river that formed the boundary between Aquitania and Celtic Gaul.

**Hispānī•a, -ae, f.**, Hispania, Spain.

**infer•us, -a, -um, adj.**, low, below; *comp.*: inferior, lower, inferior.

**mōns, montis, m.**, mountain; mountain range.

**occās•us, -ūs, m.** [*occidō*, fall, happen], falling down, setting; *with sōlis*, sunset; the west.

**Ōcean•us, -ī, m.**, the ocean.

**orior, oriri, ortus sum**, arise, begin, spring up; be born, descend; **oriēns sōl**, the rising sun, sunrise; the east.

**Pŷrēnae•us, -a, -um, adj.**, Pyreneian; **Pŷrēnaei montēs**, the Pyrenaei or the Pyrenees Mountains.

**septentrion•ēs, -um, m.** [*septem*, seven + *trionēs*, plough oxen], the seven plough oxen, the stars of the Great Bear (Big Dipper), hence the North.

**Sēquan•us, -a, -um, adj.**, of or belonging to the Sequani; *pl. as noun*, **Sēquani**, the Sequani.

**sōl, sōlis, m.**, the sun; **ad occidentem sōlem**, toward the setting sun or west; **ad orientem sōlem**, toward the rising sun or east.

**spectō**, 1 [*frequentative of speciō*, see], look at, regard; face.

**verg•ō, -ere, —, —**, look or lie toward, be situated.

**17. ab Sēquanīs et Helvētiīs**: again, the writer conceives of the territory beginning “from” territory that belongs to the Sequani and Helvetii on the other side of the border, but experiments with other preps.

**19. ad inferiōrem . . . Rhēnī**: toward the mouth of the Rhine.

**20. in septentrionem et orientem sōlem**: northeast.

**22–23. inter occāsum sōlis et septentrionēs**: northwest.

*Caesar DE BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.2:  
The Conspiracy of Orgetorix,  
Leader among the Helvetians*

Caesar introduces Orgetorix, a leader among the Helvetians, his conspiracy, and the Helvetians' desire to leave their own territory for new dwelling places. Caesar will eventually decide that they must be stopped, enter Gallic territory, and thus begin a war that will take another eight years to complete. Caesar likely did not expect the war to last so long. His command was initially for only five years, and he later had to negotiate for more time to finish the job. But Caesar does not explain any of this at the beginning. His focus is instead on one people at a specific time at the beginning of his governorship, and his actions on behalf of Rome in reference to this event. He writes as if he allows us to read his report to the Senate. The focus of the narrative is quite narrow, and does not take up the issue of a larger war. The larger war will instead be presented as flowing quite naturally in a chain of events from this first event. Caesar's narrative presents Caesar as someone who reacts effectively to events in the moment, as opposed to someone who shapes his reaction to smaller events for a larger strategic purpose. In this way, Caesar avoids the larger and much more important issue: his motivation and justification for the conquest of Gaul.



Lake Geneva , called *Lacus Lemannus* in Caesar's day, and the surrounding mountains proved a formidable challenge for the Helvetians in their quest to move westward.

- [1.2] *Apud Helvētiōs longē nōbilissimus fuit et dītissimus Orgetorīx. Is Marcō Messālā, et Marcō Pūpiō Pisōne cōsulibus rēgnī cupiditāte inductus coniūrātiōnem nōbilitātis fēcīt et cīvitatī persuāsīt ut dē finibus suis cum omnibus cōpiīs exīrent:*  
 5 *perfacile esse, cum virtūte omnibus praestārent, tōtius Galliae imperiō potīrī.*

**coniūrāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [coniūrō, swear], a swearing together; plot, conspiracy.

**cōn•sul, -sulis**, *m.*, consul, one of the two chief magistrates elected annually at Rome.

**cupidi•tās, -tātis**, *f.* [cupīdus, eager], eagerness, desire, greed.

**dīves, dīvitis**, *adj.*, rich, wealthy. *Superl.*: dītissimus.

**ex•eō, -īre, -iī, ītum** [eō, go. App. §84], go from, leave.

**imper•ium, -ī, n.** [imperō, order], right to command; authority; jurisdiction; supreme military command.

**in•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead or draw on, induce; influence, instigate; cover.

**Marc•us, -ī, m.**; **Messāl•a, -ae, m.**, Marcus Valerius Messala, consul in 61 BCE.

**Marc•us, -ī, m.**; **Pis•ō, -ōnis, m.**, Marcus Pupius Piso Calpurnianus, consul with Messala in 61 BCE.

**nōbil•is, -e, adj.** [nōscō, know], well-known, distinguished; of noble birth.

**nōbili•tās, -tātis, f.** [nōbilis, well-known], fame; noble birth, rank; the nobility.

**perfacil•is, -e, adj.** [facilis, easy], very easy.

**potior**, 4 [potis, powerful], become master of, get control or possession of, obtain, capture.

**prae•stō, -stāre, -stiti, -stātum** [stō, stand], stand or place before; show, exhibit, supply; be superior, excel, surpass.

**Pūpi•us, -ī, m.**, see Pisō.

**1. nōbilissimus**: predicate nom.; see App. §§156–157.

**2. Messālā et . . . Pisōne cōsulibus**: abl. absolute; see App. §150. Consuls served for just one year, so their names were used to identify the year in which events occurred. This conspiracy, thus dated to 61 BCE, began three years before Caesar arrived in Gaul.

**3. rēgnī**: objective gen.; see App. §98. Gauls did not have kings, so Orgetorix aims at leadership and power.

**coniūrātiōnem**: according to Caesar (but how did he know?), Orgetorix aims to convince the Helvetians to emigrate with himself as their leader.

**4. cīvitatī**: dat. indirect object with an intransitive verb; see App. §115.

**ut . . . exīrent**: subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command); see App. §228, *a*. This is an example of *SYNESIS* (breaking strict grammatical rules for the

sake of sense), as Caesar follows the sing. state (or tribe) with a pl. verb that must refer to the people in that state; see App. §301, *h*.

**omnibus cōpiīs**: this means everybody, the entire population: men, women, children.

**5. cum . . . praestārent**: “since they were superior in manliness”; subjunctive in a causal clause; see App. §239.

**virtūte**: abl. of respect or of specification; see App. §149.

**omnibus**: dat. with compound verb; see App. §116, *I*.

**tōtius Galliae**: in other words, ironically enough, Orgetorix wanted to do what Caesar eventually did: conquer all of Gaul.

**5–6. perfacile esse . . . potīrī**: indirect statement dependent on **persuāsīt**; see App. §266.

**6. imperiō**: abl. with a special deponent verb; see App. §145.

10 *Id hōc facilius eīs persuāsīt, quod undique locī nātūrā Helvētīi continentur: ūnā ex parte flūmine Rhēnō lātissimō atque altissimō, quī agrum Helvētium ā Germānīs dividit; alterā ex parte monte Iūrā altissimō, quī est inter Sēquanōs et Helvētiōs; tertiā lacū Lemannō et flūmine Rhodanō, quī prōvinciam nostram ab Helvētiīs dividit.*

**alt•us, -a, -um, adj.,** high, deep.

**dī•vidō, -videre, divīsī, divisum,** divide, distribute, separate.

**Iūr•a, -ae, m.,** the Jura mountains which stretched from the Rhine to the Rhone, separating the Helvetians from the Sequani.

**lac•us, -ūs, m.,** lake.

**lāt•us, -a, -um, adj.,** wide, broad, extensive.

**Lemann•us, -ī (often with lacus), m.,** Lake Lemannus, Lake Leman, or Lake Geneva.

**mōns, montis, m.,** mountain; mountain range.

**nātūr•a, -ae, f. [nāscor, be born],** nature; character.

**Sēquan•us, -a, -um, adj.,** of or belonging to the Sequani; *pl. as noun, Sēquanī,* the Sequani.

**undique, adv. [unde, whence],** on all sides, everywhere.

**7. Id:** i.e., his plan of action.

**hōc:** abl. of cause; see App. §138.

**locī:** gen. of possession; see App. §99.

**nātūrā:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**7–8. quod...continentur:** the Helvetii felt boxed in, and, because Caesar himself provides this analysis, he uses the indicative mood in a causal clause to let readers know that he is not merely reporting someone else's analysis; see App. §244.

**8–11. ūnā ex parte...flūmine Rhodanō:** another geography lesson; Caesar describes territory that corresponds roughly to territory today occupied by Switzerland.

**9. ā Germānīs:** abl. of separation; see App. §134.

**9–10. alterā ex parte:** “on the second side.”

**11. tertiā:** ellipsis of *ex parte*; “on the third side.”

**11–12. prōvinciam nostram:** Roman territory is just across the border. Is the conspiracy a danger to Rome? Later in Book One, Caesar will argue that the Germans would occupy Helvetian territory, if it were left empty, and Germans, as we learned at the beginning, were more warlike than Gauls. Readers are left to draw their own conclusions, but Caesar's prose guides their thoughts.

- 15 *His rēbus fiēbat ut et minus lātē vagārentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; quā ex parte hominēs bellandī cupidī magnō dolōre adficiēbantur. Prō multitudīne autem hominum et prō glōriā bellī atque fortitudinis angustōs sē finēs habēre arbitrābantur, quī in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in lātitudinem CLXXX patēbant.*

**ad•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [ad + faciō, do], affect, inspire; **magnō dolōre afficere**, to annoy greatly.  
**angust•us, -a, -um, adj.** [angō, squeeze], compressed, narrow.  
**bellō, 1**, wage war.  
**CCXL**, sign for **ducenti et quadrāgintā**, two hundred forty (see also App. §47).  
**CLXXX**, sign for **centum et octōgintā**, one hundred eighty (see also App. §47).  
**cupid•us, -a, -um, adj.** [cupiō, desire], eager, desirous.  
**dol•or, -ōris, m.** [doleō, grieve], grief, distress, pain, anguish.  
**finitim•us, -a, -um, adj.** [finis, limit], bordering on, neighboring.

**fortitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [fortis, brave], bravery, courage.  
**glōri•a, -ae, f.**, glory, reputation.  
**in•ferō, inferre, intulī, illātum** [ferō, carry. App. §81], carry into, import, inflict, cause, produce; cast into.  
**lātē, adv.** [lātus, wide], widely, extensively.  
**lātitud•ō, -inis, f.** [lātus, wide], width, extent, breadth.  
**longitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [longus, long], length, extent; long duration.  
**pate•ō, -ēre, -uī, —**, lie or be open, be passable; extend.  
**vagor, 1** [vagus, roaming], roam around, wander.

**13. His . . . fiēbat:** “as a result of these factors”; lit. “by means of these things it (note the *impers. construction*) happened that.”

**ut . . . vagārentur:** subjunctive in a substantive clause of result; see App. §229, *b*.

**14. quā ex parte:** “and for this reason”; *conjunctio relativa*: the rel. is used as a conj., and the phrase is thus equivalent to *et dē eā parte*; see App. §173, *a*.

**bellandī:** gerund used with the objective gen.; see App. §§ 287, 291.

**14–15. hominēs . . . cupidī:** “as people (hominēs, not virī) eager for waging war.” Caesar will eventually attack all the Helvetians, not just the men.

**16. angustōs . . . finēs:** “narrow boundaries” = “too small a territory.”

**sē:** acc. subject of the inf. **habēre**; see App. §123.

**finēs:** acc. object of the inf. **habēre**; see App. §124.

**17. arbitrābantur:** How does Caesar know all this? Caesar tells the story from his own point of view and for his own purposes, but he would have had reports from Gallic spies, traders, defectors, and, after his victory, prisoners.

**milia:** acc. of extent of space; see App. §130.



*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.3:*  
*Orgetorix Puts his Plan into Action*

**O**rgetorix is persuasive. The Helvetians decide to emigrate. Caesar calls Orgetorix a conspirator, yet the kinds of things he does (send delegations to negotiate alliances, use his near relations in marriage alliances) are precisely the kinds of things Caesar and other Roman politicians did too. On the other hand, Roman leaders considered themselves superior both to their fellow citizens and certainly to foreigners. Rules and standards of judgment were different for different classes and peoples. What was good for Caesar was not necessarily acceptable conduct for foreigners.





Switzerland's pride in its Helvetian heritage is evident in both its coinage and its stamps on which *HELVETIA* serves as the nation's identification. The twenty-franc coin shows the personification of Helvetia with the Alps in the background. The stamp celebrates the 2,000th anniversary of Vindonissa. It displays the face of a Roman brick imprinted with the head of Gaul, the sign of Legion X, Caesar's favorite legion.

- [1.3] *His rēbus adductī et auctōritāte Orgetorīgis permōtī cōstituērunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinērent comparāre, iūmentōrum et carrōrum quam maximum numerum coemere, sēmentēs quam maximās facere, ut in itinere cōpia frūmentī*  
 5 *suppeteret, cum proximīs cīvitatibus pācem et amicitiam cōfirmāre.*

**ad•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead to; induce, influence.

**amiciti•a, -ae, f.** [amicus, friend], friendship.

**auctōri•tās, -tātis, f.** [auctor, producer], influence, authority.

**carr•us, -ī, m.,** cart, wagon.

**co•emō, -emere, -ēmī, -ēptum** [emō, buy], buy, buy up.

**comparō, 1** [parō, prepare], prepare; acquire, prepare for.

**cōfirmō, 1** [firmō, strengthen], establish, strengthen, encourage, console; declare.

**iūment•um, -ī, n.** [iungō, join, yoke], yoke or pack animal.

**pāx, pācis, f.,** peace treaty, truce, peace, favor.

**per•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [moveō, move], move thoroughly; incite; influence.

**sēment•is, -is, f.** [sēmen, seed], sowing.

**sup•petō, -petere, -petivī, -petitum** [sub + petō, seek, obtain], be near; be in store, be supplied.

**2. ad proficiscendum:** gerund with **ad** to express purpose; see App. §§287, 293.

**cōstituērunt:** the main verb whose meaning is completed by the many (complementary) infs. that appear in this sentence.

**3. iūmentōrum:** partitive gen.; see App. §101.

**quam maximum numerum:** “as large a number as possible”; “as many . . . as possible.”

**4–5. ut . . . suppeteret:** subjunctive in a clause of purpose; see App. §225, a, 3.

**5. cum . . . cīvitatibus:** abl. of accompaniment; see App. §140.

**5–6. pācem et amicitiam cōfirmāre:** The Helvetii, who plan to move with their entire families, appear to wish to make their move peacefully. Caesar, by branding their plans a “conspiracy” and by portraying them as warlike by nature, makes these efforts appear ominous.

10 *Ad eas res cōficiendās biennium sibi satis esse dūxerunt; in tertium annum profectiōnem lēge cōfirmant. Ad eas res cōficiendās Orgetorīx dēligitur. Is sibi lēgatiōnem ad civitatēs suscēpit. In eō itinere persuādet Casticō, Catamantaloedis filiō, Sēquanō, cuius pater rēgnum in Sēquanīs multōs annōs*

**bienn•ium, -ī, n.** [**bis**, twice + **annus**, year], two years.

**Castic•us, -ī, m.,** Casticus, an important man among the Sequani.

**Catamantaloed•is, -is, m.,** Catamantaloedis, a leader among the Sequani before Caesar's day.

**cōn•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], make or do thoroughly, complete, finish.

**cōnfirmō, 1** [**fīrmō**, strengthen], establish, strengthen, encourage, console; declare.

**dē•ligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [**legō**, choose], pick out, choose.

**fil•ius, -ī, m.,** son.

**lēgati•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**lēgō**, delegate], embassy; commission.

**lēx, lēgis, f.,** law, statute.

**pat•er, -ris, m.,** father.

**profecti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**proficiscor**, set out], a setting out; start, departure.

**satis, adv., and indecl. adj. and noun, as adj.,** sufficient.

**Sēquan•us, -a, -um, adj.,** of or belonging to the Sequani; *pl. as noun, Sēquani*, the Sequani.

**sus•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum** [**su(b)s + capiō**, take], take up; undertake; begin.

7. **Ad . . . res cōficiendās:** gerundive with **ad** to express purpose (compare **ad proficiscendum** in the previous sentence); see App. §§288, 293. The prep. **ad** governs **res**, which is modified by the verbal adj. or gerundive **cōficiendās**. Translating literally, however, which would give us “for the purpose of these things necessary to be completed,” yields a phrase that cannot be considered English, and makes little (if any) sense. For this reason, we generally translate the pass. verbal adj. (or gerundive) as if it were an active verbal noun (gerund) that takes as its object the noun that it actually modifies as an adjective with pass. meaning, i.e., “for the purpose of completing these things.” Confused? The problem is in English. The Latin is perfectly clear!

**biennium:** 60–59 BCE.

**sibi:** dat. with **satis esse**; see App. §116, II.

**dūxerunt:** “they considered.” This is a common meaning of **dūcō**. As a verb of thinking, it introduces indirect statement.

8. **tertium annum:** 58 BCE, and, bad luck for them, the year Caesar arrived just across the border as governor.

**lēge:** the Helvetii pass a law in public assembly. Their plans are methodical and public, and they have entered into peace treaties with neighboring peoples.

**cōfirmant:** historical pres. (a rhetorical device that makes readers witnesses to the events described by the author); see App. §190, a.

9–10. **sibi . . . suscēpit:** dat. with compound verb; see App. §116, I.

10. **Casticō:** dat. indirect object with special verb; see App. §115.

11. **Sēquanō:** dat. in apposition with **filiō**; see App. §95, b.

**annōs:** acc. of extent of time; see App. §130.

15 *obtinuerat et ā senātū populī Rōmānī amicus appellātus erat, ut rēgnū in cīvitatē suā occupāret, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorīgī Aeduō, frātrī Diviciācī, quī eō tempore prīncipātum in cīvitatē obtinēbat ac maximē plēbī acceptus erat, ut idem cōnārētur persuādet eīque filiam suam in mātirimōnium dat.*

**Aedu•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, of the Aedui; as a *noun*: an Aeduan; *pl. as a noun*: the Aedui.  
**amic•us, -i, m.** [amō, love], friend.  
**appellō, -āre, 1**, call, name.  
**cōnor, 1**, try, attempt.  
**Diviciāc•us, -ī, m.**, Diviciacus, a leader of the Aedui, friendly to the Romans. Caesar pardons Dumnorix at his request.  
**Dumnor•ix, -igis, m.**, Dumnorix, a leader of the Aeduans, brother of Diviciacus, son-in-law of Orgetorix, enemy of Caesar, and leader of the anti-Roman party. Caesar orders his execution in 54 BCE when he tries to escape.  
**fili•a, -ae, f.**, daughter.  
**frāt•er, -ris, m.**, brother.

**item**, *adv.*, in like manner, so, also, just so.  
**magis**, *adv. comp.* [from **magnus**, large], more, rather; *superl.*: **maximē**, especially.  
**mātirimōn•ium, -ī, n.** [māter, mother], marriage.  
**ob•tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum** [teneō, hold], hold, retain, possess, maintain.  
**occupō, 1** [ob + capiō, take], take possession of, seize; engage.  
**pat•er, -ris, m.**, father.  
**plēbs, plēbis, or plēbēs, plēbēi, f.**, populace, common people.  
**prīncipāt•us, -ūs, m.** [prīnceps, chief], chief place; chief authority, leadership.  
**senāt•us, -ūs, m.** [senex, old], a body of old men, senate; especially, the Roman Senate.

**12. senātū**: abl. of agent; see App. §137.

**amicus**: an honorary and formal title conferred by the Roman Senate. Remember, though, that in the world of Roman politics, less powerful friends were expected to show deference to more powerful friends.

**13. rēgnū**: “absolute authority in the state.” In other words, the envoys aim to convince leaders sympathetic with Orgetorix’s plan to take over the government in their tribes. This would not mean establishing formal kingdoms, but somehow dominating the machinery of government. For an example of how this worked at Rome, you may compare the alliance of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey (the so-called first triumvirate). They did not become kings, but they were powerful enough to control government policy through their “friendship.”

**ut . . . occupāret**: subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command); see App. §228, a.

**14. Aeduō**: The Aedui were rivals of the Sequani.

**quī** = Dumnorix.

**tempore**: abl. of time when; see App. §152.

**15. prīncipātum**: “first place in leadership,” but not a formal post.

**plēbī**: dat. with the adj. **acceptus**; see App. §122. Would-be tyrants often turned to the common people when they wished to take power from fellow aristocrats.

**16. ut idem cōnārētur**: i.e., that he too should aim at **rēgnū**.

**eī**: dat. indirect object with transitive verb; see App. §114.

**16–17. filiam . . . dat**: marriage was a part of politics. Caesar similarly made his alliance with Pompey much more secure when, in 59 BCE (the year of his consulship), Caesar gave Pompey his daughter Julia in marriage. The histories that survive tell us primarily about the political activities of men. They are much less talkative about the crucial roles that women played in the private sphere.

20      *Perfacile factū esse illis probat cōnāta perficere, proptereā quod ipse suae cīvitātis imperium obtentūrus esset: nōn esse dubium quīn tōtius Galliae plūrimum Helvētīi possent; sē suis cōpiīs suōque exercitū illis rēgna conciliātūrum cōnfirmat.*

**conciliō**, 1 [**concilium**, assembly], bring together; gain *or* win over, secure.  
**cōnfirmō**, 1 [**fīrmō**, strengthen], establish, strengthen, encourage, console; declare.  
**cōnor**, 1, try, attempt.  
**dubi-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, uncertain, doubtful.  
**imper-ium, -ī**, *n.* [**imperō**, order], right to command; authority; jurisdiction; supreme military command, highest official power.  
**ob-tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum** [**teneō**, hold], hold, retain, possess, maintain; acquire.

**perfacil-is, -e**, *adj.* [**facilis**, easy], very easy.  
**per-ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make, do], finish; build; accomplish.  
**probō**, 1 [**probus**, good], approve; demonstrate.  
**proptereā**, *adv.* [**propter**, because of], on this account; **proptereā quod**, because.  
**quīn**, *conj.* [**quī**, who *or* how + **ne**, negative], that not, but that; *after negative words of doubt or hindrance*, but that, that.

**18. Perfacile factū . . . perficere:** Caesar deploys ASSONANCE and ALLITERATION to suggest a rhetorical argument.

**factū:** supine; “very easy to do.”

**18–19. proptereā quod . . . obtentūrus esset:** a causal clause: “inasmuch as he was going to take over supreme authority in his own state.” The mood is subjunctive because the clause is subordinate in indirect statement; see App. §269. Note also the sequence of tenses. Although **probat** is pres. in form, it is an historical pres., and thus introduces secondary (or past tense) sequence.

**19–20. nōn . . . quīn:** indirect statement after **probat**. “He proved to them that there was no doubt that . . .”

**20–21. sē . . . illis . . . conciliātūrum:** supply *esse*, which is routinely omitted from fut. inf.

**21. illis** = Casticus and Dumnorix.

**exercitū:** armies were often used by those who aimed to take over governments to achieve *rēgnum* or absolute authority. When Caesar was still very young, Sulla had marched his army on Rome, and Caesar would himself, in 49 BCE, use his legions against the Senate.

*Hāc ōrātiōne adductī inter sē fidem et iūs iūrandum dant et  
rēgnō occupātō per trēs potentissimōs ac firmissimōs populōs  
tōtīus Galliae sēsē potirī posse spērant.*

**ad•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead to; induce, influence.

**fid•ēs, -eī, f.**, [fīdō, confide], faith; trustworthiness; allegiance, protection; pledge.

**firm•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, strong, stable, vigorous.

**iūs iūrandum, iūris iūrandī, n.** [iūs, right + iūrō, swear], an oath.

**occupō, 1** [ob + capiō, take], take possession of, seize; engage.

**ōrāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [ōrō, speak], speech, argument.

**pot•ēns, -entis, adj.** [*pres. part. of* possum, be able], powerful, influential.

**potior, 4** [potis, powerful], become master of, get control or possession of, obtain, capture.

**spērō, 1** [spēs, hope], hope, hope for, anticipate.

**22. Hāc ōrātiōne:** abl. of means.

**inter sē:** “among themselves” = “to one another.”

**iūs iūrandum:** “oath.” Oaths were especially sacred in the ancient world, as sharp-eyed sky-gods hated perjurers. Secret oaths were a hallmark of conspiracy.

**23. rēgnō occupātō:** “after they had seized control”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**per trēs . . . populōs** = the Helvetii, the Sequani, and the Aedui.

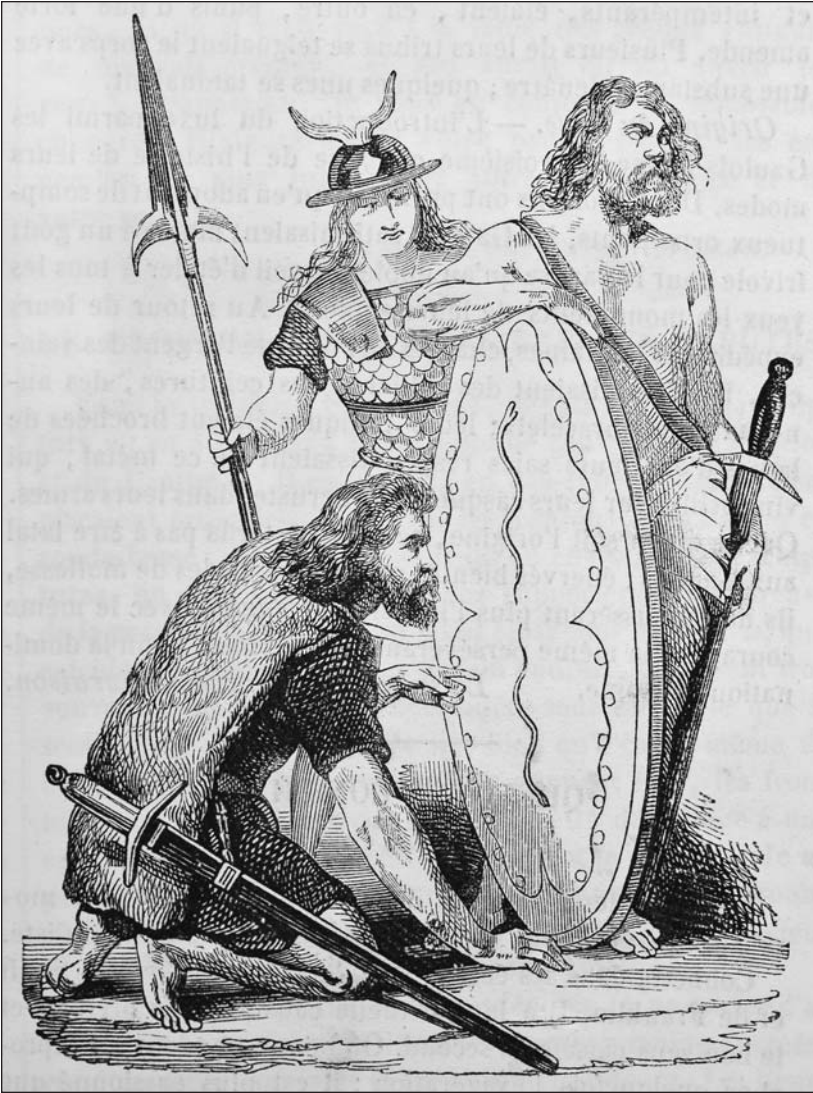
**24. tōtīus Galliae:** gen. with **potirī**; see App. §111.



*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.4:  
Downfall and Death of Orgetorix*

**A**lthough the Helvetii had publicly approved Orgetorix's plan by passing legislation, his conspiracy to take control of the state was apparently less pleasing. "An informer" brings the conspiracy to light. Orgetorix is put on trial. Orgetorix disappears under mysterious circumstances. Was it suicide? Caesar implies that the Helvetii liked Orgetorix's ideas, but did not wish to submit to Orgetorix's domination of the state.





Nineteenth-century France saw a strong interest in the country's Gallic and Roman heritage. This interest spurred a series of illustrations such as this group of Gallic Warriors by Emile Wattier and published in *Magasin Pittoresque*.

[1.4] *Ea rēs est Helvētiīs per indicium ēnūntiāta. Mōribus suīs Orgetorīgem ex vinculis causam dicere coēgērunt; damnātum poenam sequī oportēbat, ut ignī cremārētur.*

**cremō**, 1, burn.

**damnō**, 1 [**damnum**, damage], declare guilty, sentence, condemn.

**ē-nūntiō**, 1 [**nūntiō**, announce], report, declare, disclose.

**ign•is**, -is, *m.*, fire.

**indic•ium**, -ī, *n.*, [**indicō**, disclose], disclosure, information; **per indicium**, through informers.

**mōs**, **mōris**, *m.*, manner, custom, practice; *pl.*: customs, habits.

**oport•et**, -ēre, -uit, —, *impers.*, it is necessary.

**poen•a**, -ae, *f.*, punishment, penalty.

**sequor**, **sequī**, **secūtus sum**, follow; accompany; *with poena*, be inflicted.

**vincul•a**, -ae, *f.* [**vinciō**, bind], chain.

**1. Ea rēs**: the plot, the conspiracy, “this affair.”

**Helvētiīs**: dat. with a pass. verb; see App. §114, *c.*

**per indicium**: “by an informer,” but, literally, “through information (provided by an informer).”

**Mōribus**: abl. of accordance; see App. §142, *a.* Caesar frequently reports on foreign customs. Such reports are interesting, but would presumably also help Roman readers imagine Caesar’s opponents as non-Roman.

**2. ex vinculis**: “in chains,” because preps. do not map well from language to language, and “out of” chains would not be English.

**damnātum**: equivalent to “if condemned”; see App. §283.

**3. ut . . . cremārētur**: in apposition with **poenam** to explain the result of a condemnation (the idea of result also explains the subjunctive mood). In Caesar’s day, Romans did not execute people by burning them alive. Caesar provides another example of his opponents’ savagery.

- 5 *Diē cōstitutā causae dictiōnis Orgetorīx ad iūdicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum mīlia decem, undique coēgit, et omnēs clientēs obaerātōsque suōs, quōrum magnum numerum habēbat, eōdem condūxit; per eōs nē causam diceret sē ēripuit.*

**cliēns, clientis, m., f.** [**clueō**, hear, obey], client, vassal, dependent, retainer.  
**con•ducō, -ducere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**ducō**, lead], lead or bring together, assemble, conduct; hire.  
**decem (X)**, indecl. card. num., ten.  
**dicti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**dicō**, say], speaking, pleading.  
**ē•ripīō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptum** [**rapīō**, seize], take away; rescue.

**famili•a, -ae, f.**, household (including slaves); retinue (including all dependents); family.  
**iūdic•ium, -ī, n.** [**iūdex**, judge], trial; opinion.  
**obaerāt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**aes**, money], in debt; as a noun: debtor.  
**undique, adv.** [**unde**, whence], on all sides, everywhere.

4. **Diē . . . dictiōnis**: “on the day set for trying (pleading) the case.”

**causae**: objective gen.; see App. §98.

5. **familiam**: the whole household, including men, women, children, both slaves and the free. The task of such “families” was generally to weep, wail, and show support for the accused in an effort to win the sympathy of jurors and judges.

**ad**: “toward (the number of),” hence “about.”

6. **clientēs**: less powerful men who depended on a great man for protection and patronage. In return for previous favors, the great man would rely on his clients’ gratitude to ensure they did his bidding when he called on them to support him. Political life worked this way in Rome too. Favors were not free, and those who accepted the most favors (like

those who borrowed the most money) were the most dependent and least free.

**obaerātōs**: those monetarily indebted to Orgetorix, who had thus become his slaves.

7. **per eōs**: “with their help.” The prep. **per** is routinely used to express the people “through,” “with,” or “by” whose assistance another decision-making agent accomplishes some task. They may perform the action of the verb, but they follow directions. When the people who accomplish the task also make their own decisions, the correct prep. is *ab*, which is the prep. used to express personal agency. In this instance, the multitudes acted on behalf of Orgetorix, who directed their actions. He worked “through” them.

**nē . . . diceret**: subjunctive in a clause of (negative) purpose; see App. §225, b.

- 10 *Cum cīvitās ob eam rem incitāta armīs iūs suum exsequī  
cōnārētur multitudinemque hominum ex agrīs magistrātūs  
cōgerent, Orgetorīx mortuus est; neque abest suspīciō, ut Helvētīi  
arbitrantur, quīn ipse sibi mortem cōnscīverit.*

**absum, abesse, āfui**, — [sum, be. App.

§78], be away, be lacking or free from.

**cōnor**, 1, try, attempt.

**cōn•sciscō, -sciscere, -scīvī, -scītum**

[sciscō, resolve], resolve upon; **sibi  
mortem consciscere**, commit suicide.

**ex•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus sum** [sequor,  
follow], follow out, enforce.

**incitō**, 1 [citō, put in motion], set in  
motion; excite, urge on; exasperate.

**iūs, iūris**, *n.*, human law; power, authority.

*Compare: fās*, divine law.

**magistrāt•us, -ūs**, *m.* [magister, master],  
public office, magistracy; public official,  
magistrate.

**morior, morī, mortuus sum** [mors, death],  
die.

**ob**, *prep. with acc.*, on account of, for.

**quīn**, *conj.* [quī, who or how + ne, negative],  
that not, but that; *after negative words of  
doubt or hindrance*, but that, that, from;  
to.

**suspīci•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [suspīcor, suspect],  
suspicion, distrust; surmise.

**8–10. Cum . . . cōnārētur . . . –que . . .**

**cōgerent**: “while the state was attempting  
. . . and the magistrates were rounding up.”  
Subjunctive in a temporal clause; see App.  
§§240, 242, *a*.

**10. ut**: with the indicative, **ut** generally  
means “as” or “when.”

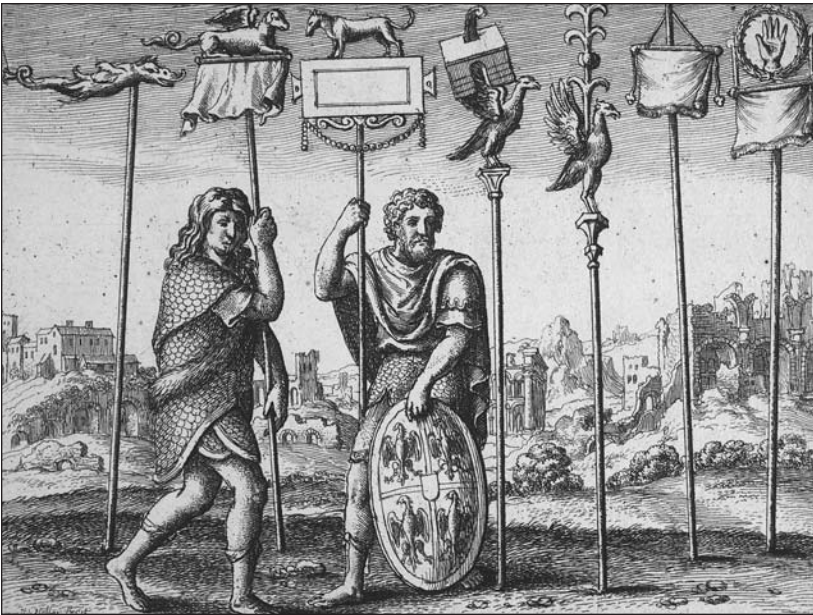
**10–11. neque abest . . . quīn . . .**

**cōnscīverit**: “nor was the suspicion lacking  
. . . but that he contrived death for himself,”  
i.e., “they suspected . . . that he committed  
suicide.”



*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.5:  
The Helvetii Attempt to Move West*

**A**lthough the original author of the plan has died, the Helvetii still attempt to put his plan into effect. They burn villages, farms, food, possessions—everything that they cannot bring with them. And they persuade many of their near neighbors to do the same thing. From Caesar’s perspective, this mass migration represents a threat to his province. Crowds can be volatile, and this crowd included thousands upon thousands of warlike men.



Václav Hollar, a native of Bohemia, spent much of his adult life in England where he served in the court of the Earl of Arundel. A prolific illustrator, Hollar's corpus includes over 2,700 etchings covering subjects from everyday life to illustrations for Homer and Vergil's poems. In this etching, Hollar recreates a set of Roman legionary standards.

- [1.5] *Post eius mortem nihilō minus Helvētīi id quod cōstituerant  
facere cōnantur, ut ē finibus suis exeant. Ubi iam sē ad eam rem  
parātōs esse arbitrātī sunt, oppida sua omnia, numerō ad  
duodecim, vīcōs ad quadringentōs, reliqua prīvāta aedificia  
5 incendunt; frūmentum omne, praeterquam quod sēcum portātūrī  
erant, combūrunť,*

**aedifi•cium, -cī, n.** [aedificiō, build],  
building, house.

**comb•ūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ustum** [con +  
ūrō, burn], burn up.

**cōnor, 1,** try, attempt.

**duodecim, card. num. and adj.** [duo, two +  
decem, ten], twelve.

**ex•eō, -īre, -iī, -ītum** [eō, go. App. §84], go  
from, leave.

**iam, adv.,** now; **ubi iam,** as soon as.

**in•cendō, -cendere, -cendī, -cēsum,** set  
fire to, burn; inflame, excite.

**nihilō, adv.,** by no means; **nihilō minus,**  
nevertheless.

**oppid•um, -ī, n.,** fortified town, town.

**parō, 1,** prepare; acquire.

**portō, 1,** carry, transport, bring, take.

**post, prep. with acc.,** behind, after.

**praeterquam, adv.,** besides, except.

**privāt•us, -a, -um, adj.,** private.

**quadringent•ī, -ae, -a, card. num. adj.,** four  
hundred.

**ubi, adv.** when.

**vīc•us, -ī, m.,** village, hamlet.

**1. nihilō:** used adverbially, but more prop-  
erly an abl. of degree of difference; see App.  
§148.

**2. cōnantur:** historical pres.; see App.  
§190, *a*.

**ut . . . exeant:** “that is, to depart . . .”; a  
substantive clause of purpose in apposition  
with *id*.

**ad eam rem:** “for this undertaking.”

**3. numerō:** abl. of respect or specification;  
see App. §149.

**ad:** “about,” “around,” “approximately.”

**3–4. oppida . . . vīcōs . . . aedificia:** an-  
other example of *ASYNDETON* (which is quite

common in Latin). The Helvetii do not plan  
on returning. Are these the actions of a peo-  
ple bent on the conquest of all Gaul? And, as  
Caesar will later point out, the Germans were  
ready to move in, which may well have been  
the real reason the Helvetii were so bent on  
finding a new place to live in western Gaul. In  
fact, it has even been argued that the Helvetii  
were on the march to help the Aedui, the very  
people whom Caesar (as a justification to con-  
tinue his intervention in Gaul) claims that he  
defends against Ariovistus and the Germans.

**5. sēcum = cum + sē;** see App. §52, *a*.



- ut domum reditiōnis spē sublātā parātiōrēs ad  
omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mēsum molita cibāria  
sibi quemque domō efferre iubent. Persuādent Rauracis et  
Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti eōdem ūsī cōnsiliō oppidis  
10 suis vicisque exustis ūnā cum eis proficiscantur, Bōiōsque, qui  
trāns Rhēnum incoluerant et in agrum Nōricum trāsierant  
Nōrēiamque oppugnārant, receptōs ad sē sociōs sibi adsciscunt.

**ad•sciscō, -sciscere, -scivī, -scitum** [ad + sciscō, approve], receive (as allies).  
**Bōi•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Boii, a Celtic tribe in southern Germany and Cisalpine Gaul.  
**cibāri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [cibus, food], pertaining to food; **molita cibāria**, flour.  
**dom•us, -ūs** (App. §29, d.), f., house; home; native country.  
**efferō, efferre, extulī, elātum** [ex + ferō, carry. App. §81], carry out or away.  
**ex•ūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ustum** [con + ūrō, burn], burn up.  
**finitim•us, -a, -um, adj.** [finis, limit], bordering on, neighboring.  
**incol•ō, -ere, -uī, —** [colō, cultivate], inhabit, dwell in.  
**Latobrig•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Latobrigi, a Gallic tribe east of the Rhine.  
**mēns•is, -is, m.**, month.  
**mol•ō, -ere, -uī, -itum, grind.**  
**Nōrēi•a, -ae, f.**, Noreia, a town in Noricum.

**Nōric•us, -a, -um, adj.** pertaining to Noricum (between the Danube and Alps).  
**oppid•um, -ī, n.**, fortified town, town.  
**oppugnō, 1** [ob + pugnō, fight], fight against, attack, besiege.  
**parō, 1**, prepare; acquire.  
**Raurac•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Rauraci, a people along the upper Rhine, north of the Helvetians.  
**rediti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [redeō, return], return.  
**soc•ius, -ī, m.** [compare sequor, follow], companion, ally.  
**sub•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], endure.  
**tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātum**, lift up; take on board; remove; destroy; elate.  
**trāns, prep. with acc.**, across, beyond, over.  
**trāns•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], cross; march through; migrate.  
**Tuling•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Tulingi, a Gallic tribe east of the Rhine.  
**vic•us, -ī, m.**, village, hamlet.

**6. domum reditiōnis spē:** “hope of returning home.”

**domum:** acc. of place to which without prep.; see App. §131.

**spē sublātā:** abl. absolute.

**6–7. ut . . . essent:** subjunctive in a rel. clause of purpose.

**ad . . . pericula subeunda:** gerundive with ad to express purpose; see App. §§288, 293.

**7. trium mēsum:** “for three months”; gen. of measure of time; see App. §100.

**8. sibi:** dat. of reference; see App. §120.

**domō:** abl. of place from which without prep.; see App. §134, a.

**8–9. Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis:** note here how POLYSYNDETON (the use of “many conjunctions”) helps create the

appearance of larger numbers. The threat grows and grows and grows!

**9. cōnsiliō:** abl. with deponent verb ūsī; see App. §145.

**9–10. uti . . . proficiscantur:** they persuaded their neighbors “to set out together with them” after effecting the same plan.

**oppidis . . . exustis:** abl. absolute.

**10. cum eis:** equivalent here to sēcum.

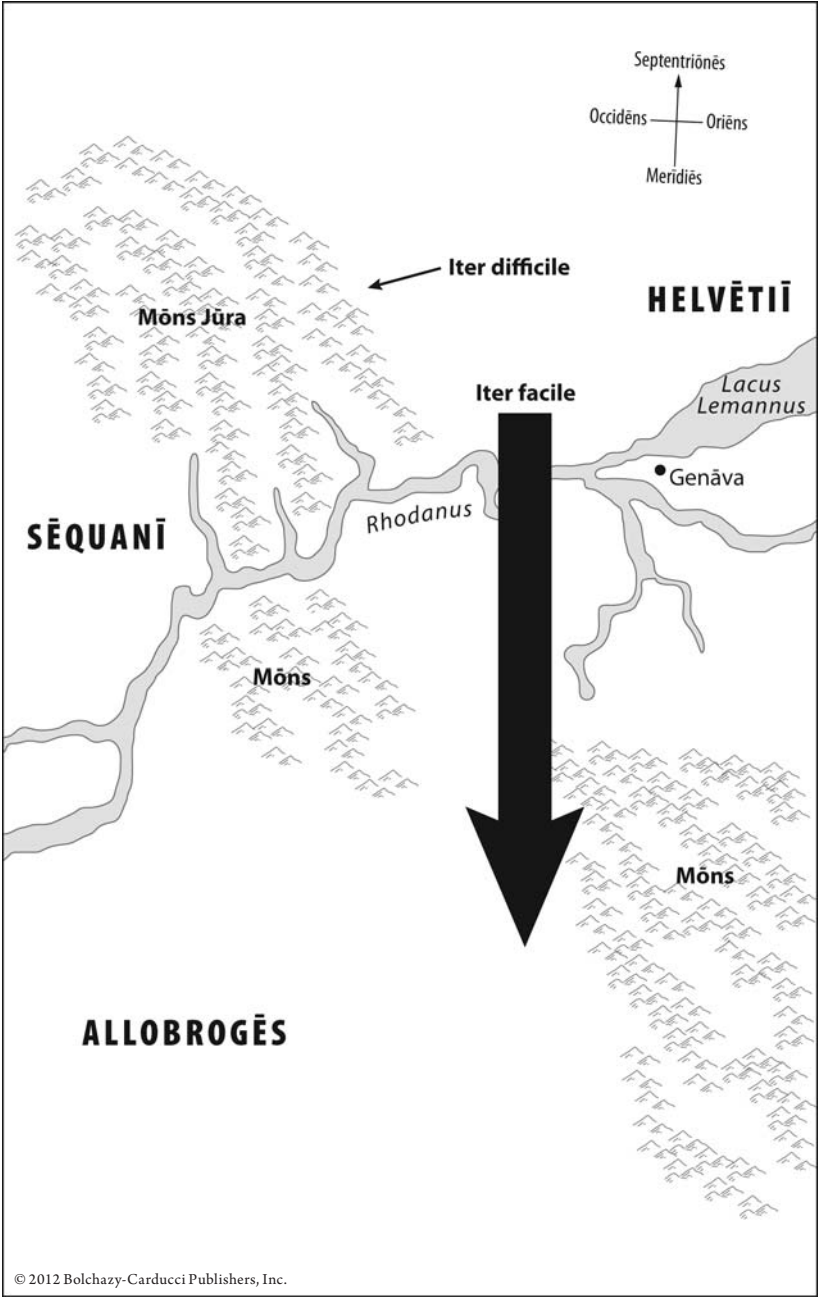
**10–12. Bōiōs . . . sociōs sibi adsciscunt:** “they admit (or receive) the Boii as their allies” or, more literally, “as allies to themselves.”

**12. receptōs . . . ad sē:** literally: “(the Boii) having been admitted among themselves,” but this is awkward English. English generally prefers a subordinate clause and the active: “after they had received (the Boii).”

*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.6:*  
*On the Road(s)*

**T**he Helvetii are ready to set out for non-Roman territory in Western Gaul. They have two options. One route traverses gentler terrain through Roman territory (the Province). The alternative route passes through the Iura mountains. The terrain was more difficult, and the mountains were also inhabited by other warlike people. After considering their options, the Helvetii elect to gather on the border of the Roman province near Geneva on March 28, 58 BCE, in hopes of making their journey less arduous.

HELVETIAN ESCAPE ROUTES



- [1.6] *Erant omninō itinera duo, quibus itineribus domō exīre possent: ūnum per Sēquanōs, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iūram et flūmen Rhodanum, vix quā singulī carrī dūcerentur, mōns autem altissimus impendēbat, ut facile*  
 5 *perpaucī prohibēre possent; alterum per prōvinciam nostram, multō facilius atque expeditius,*

**alt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, high, deep.

**angust•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**angō**, squeeze], compressed, narrow.

**carr•us, -ī, m.**, cart, wagon.

**difficil•is, -e, adj.** [**facilis**, easy], difficult.

**dom•us, -ūs** (App. §29, *d.*), *f.*, house; home; native country.

**ex•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go. App. §84], go from, leave.

**expedit•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*perf. part. of expediō*, set free], unimpeded; without baggage; light-armed.

**im•pendeō, -pendēre, —, —** [**in + pendeō**, hang], overhang, impend.

**Iūr•a, -ae, m.**, the Jura mountains which stretched from the Rhine to the Rhone, separating the Helvetians from the Sequani.

**mōns, montis, m.**, mountain; mountain range.

**omninō, adv.** [**omnis**, all], entirely, only.

**perpauc•ī, -ae, -a** [**paucī**, few], very few, but very few; *m. pl. as noun*: very few.

**prohibeō, 2** [**habeō**, hold], keep from, prevent, prohibit.

**Sēquan•us, -a, -um, adj.**, of or belonging to the Sequani; *pl. as noun*, **Sēquani**, the Sequani.

**singul•ī, -ae, -a, distributive num. adj.**, one each; one at a time, single.

**vix, adj.**, with difficulty, hardly.

**1. Erant:** “there were.”

**quibus itineribus:** the antecedent of **quibus** is **itinera**, a word Caesar repeats within the subordinate clause as **itineribus**. This was not necessary, but it is not uncommon. How does its repetition help make Caesar’s meaning clearer and more specific? Would the sentence sound the same without the second **itineribus**?

**domō:** abl. of place from which without the prep.; see App. §134, *a*.

**1–2. quibus . . . possent:** Subjunctive mood in rel. clause of characteristic; see App. §230.

**2–5. ūnum . . . alterum:** supply *iter* for each, as each represents one of the two possible routes (**itinera duo**) with which they are, taken together, in apposition; see App. §95, *b*.

**3. vix:** the normal place for an adv. is before the verb it modifies (here **dūcerentur**). Putting it in front of the rel. pron. **quā** makes it emphatic, thus lending more drama to Caesar’s narrative.

**4. dūcerentur:** “they could (or would be able to) be driven, dragged, or drawn.” Subjunctive in a rel. clause of characteristic; see App. §230, *c*; G.-L. §631, 2.

**4–5. ut . . . possent:** subjunctive in a clause of result; see App. §226.

**5. prohibēre:** the reader will have to supply a direct object derived from the first part of the sentence, e.g., *illōs, eōs, vel. sim.*

**6. multō:** abl. of degree of difference; see App. §148.

proptereā quod inter finēs

*Helvētiōrum et Allobrogum, quī nūper pācātī erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nōnnūllis locīs vadō trānsitur. Extrēmum oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvētiōrum finibus Genava.*

- 10 *Ex eō oppidō pōns ad Helvētiōs pertinet. Allobrogibus sēsē vel persuāsūrōs, quod nōndum bonō animō in populum Rōmānum vidērentur, exīstīmābant vel vī coāctūrōs ut per suōs finēs eōs ire paterentur.*

**Allobrogēs, -um, m.,** the Allobroges, a Gallic people in the Roman Province.

**anim•us, -ī, m.,** mind; character; spirit, soul; courage.

**bon•us, -a, -um, adj.,** good, well-disposed; (with *animō*) friendly.

**eō, ire, ii (ivī), itum** (App. §84), go, proceed, march, pass.

**extrēm•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*superl. of exterus*. App. §44], outermost, farthest; the farthest part of.

**fluō, fluere, flūxī, —,** flow, run.

**Genav•a, -ae, f.,** Genava, a city belonging to the Allobroges on the shores of *Lacus Lemannus*; now called Geneva.

**nōndum, adv.** [*nōn + dum*], not yet.

**nōnnūll•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*nōn + nūllus, none*], some, several.

**nūper, adv.,** recently.

**oppid•um, -ī, n.,** fortified town, town, stronghold.

**pācō, 1** [*pāx, peace*], subdue, pacify.

**patior, patī, passus sum,** endure, suffer; allow.

**pōns, pontis, m.,** bridge.

**proptereā, adv.** [*propter, because of*], on this account; **proptereā quod,** because.

**trāns•eō, -ire, -ii, -itum** [*eō, go*. App. §84], cross; march through; migrate.

**vad•um, -ī, n.,** ford, shallow.

**vel, conj., or; vel . . . vel,** either . . . or.

**7. nūper pācātī erant:** the Romans had two years earlier in 61 BCE made the area “peaceful” by suppressing a violent struggle for independence.

**8. nōnnūllis locīs:** “in a few places,” “at several points”; abl. of place where without prep.; see App. §151, b.

**vadō trānsitur:** “it is crossed by wading.” Wading through a shallow area along the course of a river is called “fording a river.” The place where a river is shallow enough to attempt this is called “a ford.”

**8–9. Extrēmum . . . Genava:** Caesar speaks from the point of view of an Italian looking north. Allobrogian Geneva (Genava), which was, thanks to the efforts of the praetor C. Pomptinus in 61 BCE, securely under Roman jurisdiction, was just across the border from Helvetian territory.

**10. pōns:** rather than ford the river, the Helvetians would like to cross the bridge. Was this unreasonable?

**10–12. vel . . . persuāsūrōs . . . vel . . . coāctūrōs:** *esse* has been omitted from each of these fut. act. inf. in indirect statement dependent on a verb of thinking (*exīstīmābant*); see App. §269.

**11. nōndum bonō animō:** because their revolt had so recently and violently been suppressed, the Allobroges seemed “not yet well-disposed (or friendly) toward the Roman people.” Abl. of quality or description; see App. §141.

**12–13. ut . . . paterentur:** subjunctive mood in an indirect command, that is, a noun clause that serves as the object of the inf. *persuāsūrōs esse* and *coāctūrōs esse*. Other names for the same phenomenon include jussive noun clause, volitive substantive, and substantive clause of purpose (which is the more general classification).

- 15 *Omnibus rēbus ad profectiōnem comparātis diem dicunt, quā diē ad ripam Rhodanī omnēs conveniant. Is diēs erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. Lūciō Pisōne, Aulō Gabiniō cōsulibus.*

**a.** = **ante**, *adv.*, (1) before, above, previously;  
(2) *prep. with acc.*, before, in front of, in advance of.

**Apr.** = **April•is**, **-e**, *adj.*, of (the month of) April.

**Aul•us**, **-ī**, *m.*; **Gabīn•ius**, **-ī**, *m.*, Aulus Gabinius, consul with Lucius Calpurnius Piso in 58 BCE.

**comparō**, 1 [**parō**, prepare], prepare; acquire, prepare for.

**cōn•sul**, **-sulis**, *m.*, consul.

**d.** = **diem**.

**Kal.**, *abbr. for Kalend•ae*, **-ārum**, *f.*, the Kalends, the first day of the Roman month.

**Lūci•us**, **-ī**, *m.*; **Pis•ō**, **-ōnis**, *m.*, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law; consul in 58 BCE.

**profecti•ō**, **-ōnis**, *f.* [**proficiscor**, set out], a setting out; start, departure.

**rip•a**, **-ae**, *f.*, bank (of a stream).

**V**, sign for **quinque**, five (see also App. §47).

**14. Omnibus . . . comparātis**: “after they had gotten everything ready”; abl. absolute.

**14–15. quā diē**: abl. of time when; see App. §152. Caesar repeats the antecedent (i.e., **diem**) within the subordinate clause (as **diē**). The repetition serves to make his meaning unambiguous and emphatic.

**15. convenient**: subjunctive mood in a rel. clause of purpose; see App. §225, *a*.

**15–16. a. d. V. Kal. Apr.** = *ante diem quintum Kalendās Aprilēs*. This phrase represents what the Romans themselves said, and is thus idiomatic, but, because the grammar does not make sense, we cannot translate it literally. The phrase means “on the fifth day before the calends of April.” If the Romans had followed their own grammatical rules, they would have written *diē quintō ante*

*Kalendās Aprilēs*. Another challenge for us is the way they counted. It is not obvious that five days before the calends (or first) of April is 28 March. The Romans, however, included the day from which they started counting, and then counted backwards until they arrived at the number of days originally cited, hence, in this case, here is how we count five days before the first of April: 1 April (day 1), 31 March (day 2), 30 March (day 3), 29 March (day 4), 28 March (day 5). To make it even simpler, try counting backwards on the five fingers of one hand, starting, of course, with the first of April (seriously, no joke; it works).

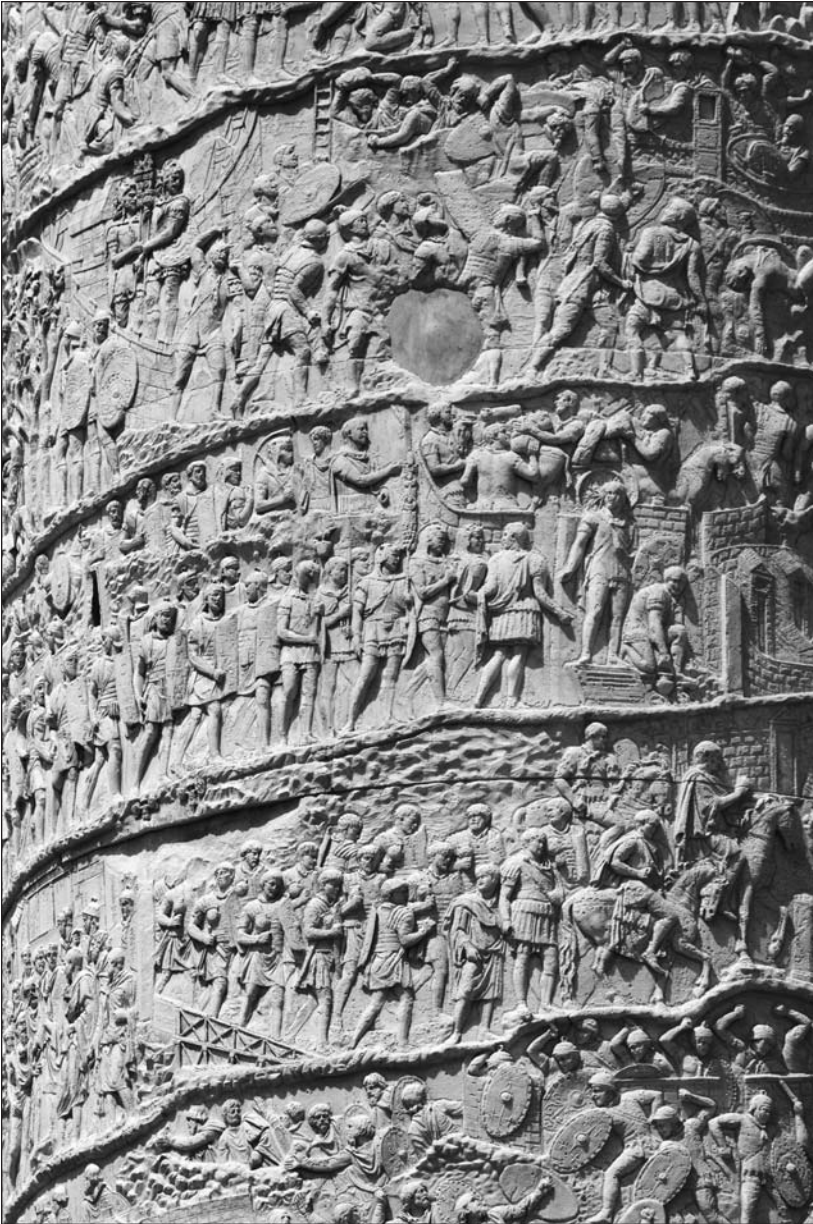
**16. Lūciō Pisōne, Aulō Gabiniō cōn-sulibus** = 58 BCE.



*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.7:*  
*Caesar Rushes In*

**C**aesar rushes to the vicinity of Geneva. The Helvetii send an embassy who requests permission to pass through the Province. Caesar tells them that he needs time to consider their request. This delaying tactic will allow Caesar to finish defensive fortifications before Caesar formally rejects their request. Caesar's lie or duplicity will have struck his Roman readers as smart statesmanship. Diplomats, generals, and politicians do not always speak the truth, especially when it is inconvenient or would give their opponents an advantage.





Trajan's Column, which towers over the remains of the Forum of Trajan in Rome, details his conquest of Dacia in the second century CE. The many relief panels of the column provide a comprehensive view of Roman military activities. The excerpted panels include the army on a march with the standards as well as a set of military construction scenes. Such images help us reconstruct Caesar's campaigns.

- [1.7] *Caesarī cum id nūntiātum esset, eōs per prōvinciam nostram iter facere cōnārī, mātūrāt ab urbe proficīscī et quam maximīs potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriōrem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit. Prōvinciae tōtī quam maximum potest militum*  
 5 *numerum imperat (erat omnīnō in Galliā ulteriōre legiō ūna), pontem, quī erat ad Genavam, iubet rescindī.*

**cōnor**, 1, try, attempt.

**con•tendō, -tendere, -tendi, -tentum**

[**tendō**, stretch], push forward, hasten; march; fight; insist.

**Genav•a, -ae, f.**, Genava, a city belonging to the Allobroges on the shores of *Lacus Lemannus*; now called Geneva.

**imperō**, 1 [**in** + **parō**, procure], demand from; requisition; command.

**mātūrō**, 1 [**mātūrus**, ripe], hurry, hasten.

**nūntiō**, 1 [**nūntius**, messenger], announce, report; order.

**omnīnō**, *adv.* [**omnis**, all], at all; altogether, only.

**pōns, pontis, m.**, bridge.

**re•scindō, -scindere, -scidi, -scissum** [**re** + **scindō**, cleave], cut down, destroy.

**urbs, urbis, f.**, city; *especially*, the city, Rome.

**ulter•ior, -ius, adj., comp.** [**ultrā**, beyond.

App. §43], farther, more remote.

**1. cum . . . nūntiātum esset**: subjunctive mood in a temporal clause; see App. §§240, 242, *a*.

**id**: “this thing” or (better) “this fact” is explained by the clause (**eōs . . . cōnārī**) that is in apposition with it. This clause provides the actual information that was reported to Caesar.

**eōs**: acc. subject (see App. §123) of the inf. **cōnārī** in indirect statement; see App. §266.

**2. ab urbe**: “from Rome,” the only *urbs* that never had to be named. Having just finished his consulship, Caesar was still in the vicinity of Rome preparing for his governorship.

**2–3. quam maximīs potest itineribus**: “by (day-)trips as long as he can (make them).” Although Caesar was known for traveling especially speedily, Plutarch *Caesar* 17 tells us that this trip took eight days, so about ninety miles a day. Travel was time-consuming in the ancient world.

**3. Galliam ulteriōrem**: “more remote (or farther) Gaul,” which, from an Italian point of view, was Transalpine Gaul, i.e., Gaul on the other side of the Alps.

**ad Genavam**: “to the vicinity of Geneva”; see App. §131.

**4. militum**: partitive gen. App. §101.

**4–5. Prōvinciae . . . imperat**: “he enlisted from the province”; historical pres. Caesar orders the province to supply as many men as possible.

**5. in Galliā**: abl. of place where; see App. §151, *b*.

**legiō**: the tenth legion, which famously became Caesar’s favorite.

**6. pontem**: Caesar takes no chances, and removes the bridge.

10 Ubi dē eius adventū Helvētīi certiōrēs factī sunt, lēgātōs ad eum mittunt nōbilissimōs civitātis, cuius lēgatiōnis Nammēius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinēbant, quī dicerent sibi esse in animō sine ūllō maleficiō iter per prōvinciam facere, proptereā quod aliud iter habērent nūllum: rogāre ut eius voluntāte id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoriā tenēbat Lūcium Cassium cōsulem occīsum exercitumque eius ab Helvētiīs pulsum et

**anim•us, -ī, m.,** mind; feelings; character.

**cōn•sul, -sulis, m.,** consul.

**lēgāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [lēgō, delegate], embassy.  
**licet, licēre, licuit** and **licitum est, impers.,** it is permitted.

**Lūcius, -ī, m.; Cass•ius, -ī, m.,** Lucius Cassius Longinus, consul in 107 BCE, defeated and slain in battle by the Tigurini.  
**malefic•ium, -ī, n.** [malus, evil + faciō, do], mischief, harm.

**memōri•a, -ae, f.** [memor, mindful], memory; **memoriā tenēre**, remember.

**Nammē•ius, -ī, m.,** Nammeius, a Helvetian noble and envoy.

**nōbil•is, -e, adj.** [nōscō, know], well-known, distinguished; of noble birth.

**nūll•us, -a, -um, gen. nūllius, adj.** [ne- + ūllus, any], not any, no.

**ob•tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum** [teneō, hold], hold, retain, possess; acquire.

**oc•cidō, -cidere, -cisi, -cisum** [caedō, cut], cut down, kill.

**pellō, pellere, pepuli, pulsum**, defeat, rout.  
**prīn•ceps, -cipis, adj.** [prīmus, first], chief, first.

**proptereā, adv.** [propter, because of], on this account; **proptereā quod**, because.

**rogō, 1, ask.**

**ubi, adv.** when.

**ūll•us, -a, -um gen. ūllius** (App. §32), *adj.*, a single, any.

**Verucloeti•us, -ī, m.,** Verucloetius, a Helvetian envoy.

**volut•tās, -tātis, f.** [volō, wish], wish; goodwill; consent.

**7. certiōrēs factī sunt:** “were made more certain” = “were informed.”

**certiōrēs:** predicate nom.; see App. §§156, 157.

**8. nōbilissimōs:** “the most renowned men”; substantive use of the adj.

**9. quī dicerent:** “who were saying (because they were sent for this purpose),” i.e., “whose assignment was to explain,” subjunctive mood in a rel. clause of purpose.

**9–10. sibi esse in animō:** “that they had in mind,” “they intended”; indirect statement dependent on **dicerent**.

**9. sibi:** dat. of possession; see App. §117.

**11. quod . . . habērent:** subjunctive mood because a subordinate clause in indirect statement.

**rogāre:** inf. dependent on **dicerent** in indirect statement. Because it may be deduced from the **sibi** that appeared earlier, Caesar has ellipted the proper subject of the infinitive,

which would be **sē**. The style is thus clipped, terse, matter-of-fact.

**eius:** “Caesar’s”; because the reflexives refer to the ambassadors who are the subject of the main verb of speaking (i.e., **dicerent**).

**voluntāte:** “in accordance with his preference,” i.e., “with his consent”; abl. of manner without *cum*; see App. §142, a.

**11–12. ut . . . sibi . . . liceat:** “that it be permitted to them,” i.e. “that they be allowed”; subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command); see App. §228, a.

**12. tenēbat:** indicative in a causal clause; see App. §244. Notice also the use of the impf. tense in this sentence. Caesar presents himself in the midst of thought, thus inviting readers to share his logic as he works through it.

**13. ab Helvētiīs:** abl. of agent; see App. §137.

**13–14. occisum . . . pulsum . . . missum:** perf. pass. inf. (with the *esse* omitted) in indirect

- 15 sub iugum *missum*, concēdendum *nōn* putābat; *neque hominēs*  
 inimicō animō, *datā* facultāte *per prōvinciam itineris faciendī*,  
 temperātūrōs *ab* iniuriā *et* maleficiō *existimābat*.

**anim•us, -ī, m.**, mind; character; spirit, soul; courage.

**con•cēdō, -cedere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], depart; grant; permit.

**facul•tās, -tātis, f.** [facilis, easy], power; opportunity; resources.

**inimic•us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + amicus, friendly], unfriendly, hostile.

**iniūri•a, -ae, f.** [in + iūs, right], wrong; injury, damage.

**iug•um, -ī, n.** [iungō, join], yoke; ridge, crest.

**malefic•ium, -ī, n.** [malus, evil + faciō, do], mischief, harm, injury.

**putō, 1**, think, consider, believe.

**sub, prep. with acc.**, under, beneath.

**temperō, 1**, refrain.

statement dependent on a verb of thinking (**memoriā tenēbat**). Caesar recalls an event more than half a century in the past. This may strike modern readers as forced, but it is difficult to overestimate how seriously Romans took the past. They treated remote events as if they were quite recent, and typically used events from the farther and nearer past to make arguments about the present and for the future. If it had been in Caesar's interest, he could have neglected to remember the incident, of course, but, as Cassius's defeat helped his argument (Romans were always eager to avenge a loss), Caesar mentioned it precisely because it would be effective in convincing the audience at home that his aggression against the Helvetians was justified.

**14. sub iugum:** "under the yoke." When a victorious army wanted to humiliate a defeated enemy, they would set up a "yoke" or low arch, which was constructed with spears. They would then force the defeated army to march "under the yoke." The defeated soldiers would have to bend over to get underneath (thus forcing them to bow down—another sign of submission), and the victors would

line up to jeer and make fun of the defeated soldiers. Although the Romans inflicted the same punishment on others, they did not like to lose, and they especially resented disrespectful behavior that did not acknowledge Roman superiority.

**concēdendum:** a pass. periphrastic inf. (with *esse* omitted) dependent on **putābat** in indirect statement. The unexpressed subject of the inf. is the Helvetians' request to pass through Roman territory, hence "Caesar was thinking that this (request) must not be granted."

**15. animō:** abl. of quality or description; see App. §141.

**datā facultāte:** "given the opportunity," i.e., "if they were given the opportunity"; conditional abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**itineris faciendī:** gerundive in the gen. to express purpose; see App. §§288, 291.

**16. temperātūrōs:** a fut. active inf. (with *esse* omitted) dependent on **existimābat** in indirect statement. The subject is the word **hominēs**, hence "Caesar was reckoning that the people would (in the future) not refrain from," etc.

*Tamen, ut spatium intercēdere posset dum milītēs quōs  
imperāverat convenirent, lēgātīs respondit diem sē ad  
dēliberandum sūmptūrum: sī quid vellent, ad Id. Aprīl.  
reverterentur.*

20

**April.** = **April•is, -e, adj.**, of (*the month of*) April.

**dēliberō**, 1 [**libra**, balance], weigh well; consider, deliberate.

**Id.**, abbr. of **Id•ūs, -uum, f. pl.**, the Ides: *the 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of other months.*

**imperō**, 1 [**in** + **parō**, procure], demand from; order, instruct, rule.

**inter•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go or come between, intervene; pass.

**re•spondeō, -spondēre, -spondī, -sponsum** [**re** + **spondeō**, promise], reply, answer.

**re•vector, -vertī, -versus sum** [**re** + **vertō**, turn], turn back, come back, return.

**spat•ium, -ī, n.**, space; period or length of time.

**sūmō, sūmere, sūmpsī, sūmptum** [**sub** + **emō**, take], take; assume.

**17–18. dum milītēs . . . convenirent:** “while the soldiers were assembling” or “until the soldiers arrived.” Because Caesar shared his thoughts about avenging Rome’s humiliating defeat of 107 BCE as well as his assessment of how dangerous the Helvetians were, he invites us, as readers, to view his less than honest response to the ambassadors as crafty diplomacy rather than dishonest dealing.

**18. diem:** Caesar does specifically say “one day” (*ūnum diem*), so we may infer that he planned on taking whatever time he needed. Roman governors, whose power within their provinces was almost absolute, acted when it suited them. One of the most basic ways to demonstrate one’s power over others is to make them wait.

**18–19. sē . . . sūmptūrum:** “that he would take”; fut. active inf. (with *esse* omitted) dependent on **respondit** in indirect statement. The subject of the inf., **sē**, refers to Caesar, the unexpressed subject of the main verb.

**ad dēliberandum:** gerund with **ad** to express purpose; see App. §§287, 293.

**19. sī quid vellent:** “if they wanted something.” After **sī**, *aliquid* drops the “*ali*”; see App. §174.

**ad Id. Aprīl.:** *ad Idūs Aprīlēs*, i.e., 13 April.

**20. reverterentur:** “they should return”; subjunctive mood in indirect statement to represent a command. When the ambassadors were with Caesar, he said directly to them (something like): “If you want something, return on the Ides of April!” (*sī quid vultis, ad Idūs Aprīlēs revertimini!*) Reported as a past event, this became (in indirect statement): “(Caesar) responded . . . that, if they wanted something, they should return on the Ides of April.” For more on the use of the subjunctive mood to represent commands in indirect statement, see App. §267.

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### *Aftermath*

This story does not end well for the Helvetians. Caesar eventually denied them permission to cross through Roman territory, so they then attempted to take the more difficult route north, which did not pass through Roman territory. Caesar considered this too dangerous to permit (because they would still be close to Roman territory), and this argument provided a pretext or, depending on your perspective, a legitimate reason for invading non-Roman Gaul with a Roman army. Caesar defeated the Helvetians without too much effort, and slaughtered a large number of men, women, and children. Caesar compelled the survivors to return to their burnt fields and villages on the grounds that even more dangerous Germans would otherwise drift in to settle on the vacant territory. At all events, once Caesar had entered non-Roman Gaul, he did not leave until he had conquered the entire territory. This took another eight long years, probably much longer than Caesar had anticipated or hoped.





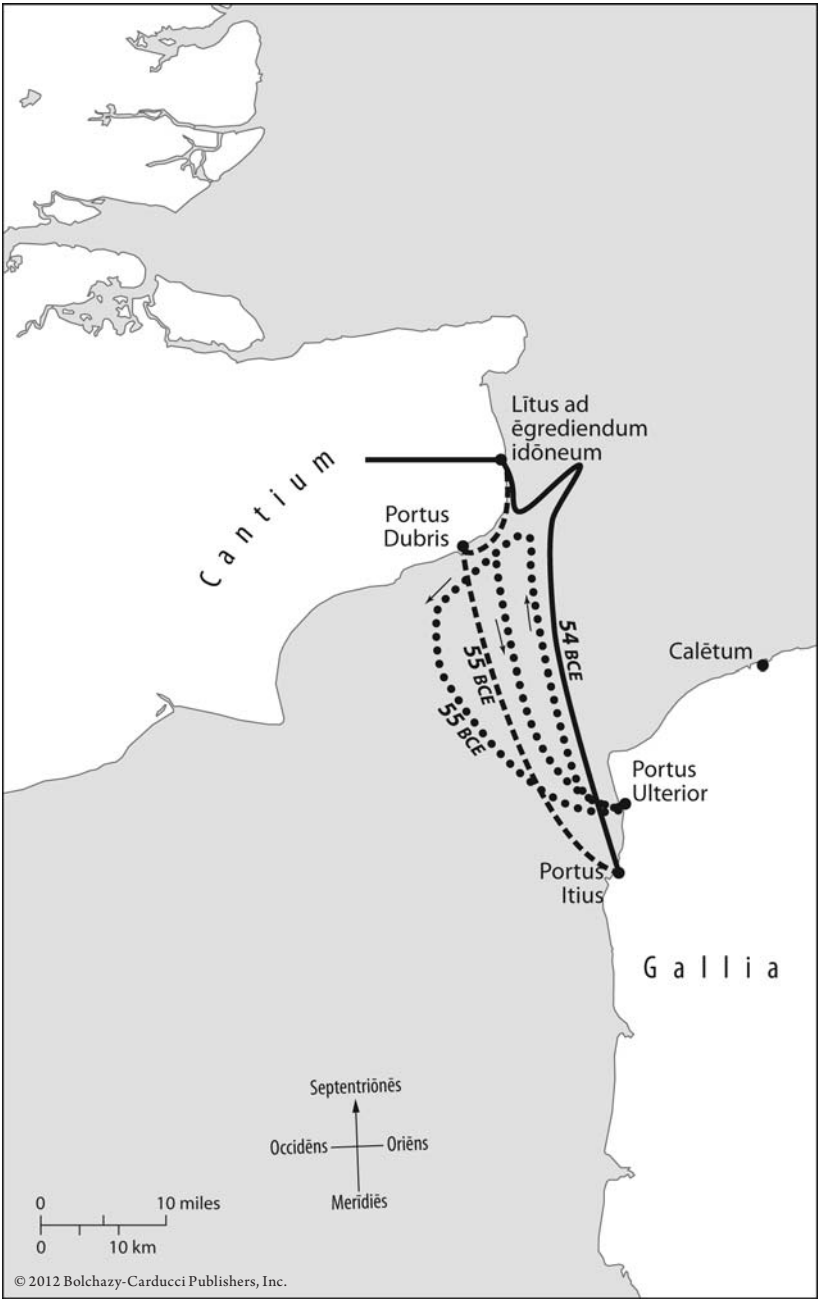
C. IVLI CAESARIS  
COMMENTARIORUM  
DE BELLO GALLICO  
LIBER QUARTUS

*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 4.24–36.1:*  
*Caesar's Invasion of Britain*

Caesar's governorship began in 58 BCE with an incursion into Gaul to prevent the Helvetians from leaving their homes for new settlements in western Gaul. Once he was in Gaul, Caesar soon became more deeply involved in the various disputes of Gallic tribes with each other and in their disputes with neighboring peoples, especially the Germanic tribes pressing into Gaul from across the Rhine. At first, some Gallic tribes truly welcomed Caesar as a protector or were at least eager to enlist his assistance in their struggles against others. Caesar did not lack pretexts for pressing on with his conquests. In 57 BCE, Caesar moved north to fight the Belgae and to consolidate control of Gaul along the northern coast. Action in the north continued into 56 BCE as well as in the south in the region of Aquitania on the Atlantic coast north of Spain. By 55 BCE, the military situation in Gaul appeared secure. The only Gauls not under Roman rule or military domination were across the channel in Britain. For the first part of the summer of 55 BCE, Caesar fought against Germans who had initially been welcomed into Gaul by tribes no longer happy with the Romans. Caesar defeated them, and, when they fled across the Rhine, Caesar built a bridge, and crossed over with his troops to demonstrate that he had the ability to bring war to the Germans in their home territory, or, as he put it, "to fill the Germans with terror" (*ut Germānīs metum iniceret*; BG 4.19). The Gauls in Britain were another matter. Their freedom was, of course, a bad example in general, and they had sent aid to the Gauls on the



BRITISH INVASION



mainland during earlier battles against Caesar. Caesar also tells us that he could not gather clear information about the island. Caesar's expedition was thus partly reconnaissance and information-gathering.

Caesar's operations in 55 BCE yielded tremendous public relations benefits. To Romans at home, Germany and Britain were both remote and terrifying places. They were uncharted, unknown, dangerous, and populated—at least in the Roman imagination—by primitive savages. To reach Britain, Caesar had to cross the open sea, which was always a daunting prospect to the Roman imagination. To reach the Germans, he had to cross the Rhine, which he did by having a bridge constructed, thus showing off Roman engineering. Caesar's successes were duly reported and celebrated in Rome by Caesar's political allies and supporters. And so, despite his long absence from Rome, Caesar's fame and popularity kept growing. We should not forget too that the war Caesar fought in Gaul was enormously profitable. Slave dealing was an integral part of ancient warfare. "Merchants" (slave-dealers) traveled with the army. Tens of thousands of defeated Gauls were sold into slavery, and Caesar could use the profits from their sale to reward his soldiers and to buy loyalty and political support in Rome. Because the war in Gaul was to this extent also a business operation, Caesar's stated interest in learning more about the island of Britain may well have included reasons he would have been too diplomatic to state explicitly.

In this selection, we pick up the story just as Caesar and two legions have arrived in Britain aboard a fleet of some eighty ships. Caesar has brought the fleet as close to shore as the size of the ships will allow. The native inhabitants, however, have been watching the Roman ships from shore. They immediately attack. Their goal is to prevent Roman soldiers from establishing a beachhead. The fight is difficult for the Romans because they must fight while wading through water and waves. The native inhabitants, on the other hand, fight from dry land or after wading only a little way into the water.

**Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 4.24–36.1:**  
**Caesar's Invasion of Britain**

[4.24] *At barbarī, cōnsiliō Rōmānōrum cognitō praemissō equitātū et essedāriīs, quō plērumque genere in proeliīs ūtī cōnsuērunt, reliquīs cōpiīs subsecūtī nostrōs nāvibus ēgredi prohibēbant.*

**barbar-us, -a, -um, adj.**, foreign (to Romans and Greeks), uncivilized; *pl.* as noun: barbarians.

**ē-gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum [gradior, step]**, come forth, depart; march out, make a sortie; disembark.

**essedāri-us, -a, -um, adj.** [essedum, war chariot], a soldier who fought from a two-wheeled British war chariot.

**plērumque, adv.** [plērusque, the greater part], mostly; very often.

**prae-mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -misum [mittō, send]**, send before or in advance.

**prohibeō, 2 [habeō, hold]**, keep from, prevent, prohibit; keep out or away from; guard.

**sub-sequor, -sequī, -secūtus [sequor, follow]**, follow closely.

**1. cōnsiliō . . . cognitō:** abl. absolute; see App. §150. The native inhabitants knew what the Romans planned because they had been watching from shore.

**1–2. praemissō equitātū et essedāriīs:** abl. absolute; **praemissō** agrees with the word closest to it. Chariots were an archaic weapon and no longer in use on the continent.

**2. quō . . . genere:** “which kind” (of warrior) or “a type (of warrior) that.” If **genere** had stood outside the rel. clause, it would

have been in apposition with **equitātū et essedāriīs**, and thus served as the antecedent of **quō**. Instead, this appositional antecedent has been placed within the rel. clause. This is similar to Caesar’s practice of repeating the antecedent within the rel. clause.

**3. reliquīs cōpiīs:** abl. of accompaniment with *cum* omitted (common in military phrases); App. §140.

**nāvibus:** abl. of separation without the prep.; App. §134.

- 5 *Erat ob hās causās summa difficultās, quod nāvēs propter magnitudinem nisi in altō cōstituī nōn poterant, militibus autem, ignōtīs locīs, impeditīs manibus, magnō et gravī onere armōrum oppressīs simul et dē nāvibus dēsiliendum et in flūctibus cōsistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum*  
 10 *illī aut ex āridō aut paulum in aquam prōgressī omnibus membrīs expeditīs, nōtissimīs locīs, audācter tēla conicerent et equōs insuēfactōs incitārent.*

**alt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, high, deep.

**aqua, -ae, f.**, water.

**ārid•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**areō**, be dry], dry; *n.* as noun: dry land.

**audācter, adv.** [**audāx**, bold], fearlessly, daringly.

**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**co** + **iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.

**cōn•sistō, -sistere, -stīti, —** [**sistō**, stand], take a stand or position, keep one's position, stand; stop, halt, remain, stay.

**dē•siliō, -silire, -siluī, -sultum** [**saliō**, jump], jump from, dismount.

**difficul•tās, -tātis, f.** [**difficilis**, difficult], trouble, embarrassment.

**expedit•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*perf. part. of* **expediō**, set free], unimpeded; without baggage; light armed.

**flūct•us, -ūs, m.** [**fluō**, flow], flood, wave.

**ignōt•us, -a, -um, adv.** [**in** + (**g**)**nōtus**, known (**nōscō**, know)], unknown, unfamiliar.

**impediō, 4** [**in** + **pēs**, foot], entangle the feet, obstruct, hinder, delay.

**incitō, 1** [**citō**, put in motion], set in motion; excite, urge on; exasperate.

**insuēfact•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**suēscō**, become accustomed, **faciō**, make], accustomed, trained.

**magnitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**magnus**, large], large size.

**membr•um, -ī, n.**, limb.

**nisi, conj.**, [**ne** + **sī**, if], if not, except, unless.

**nōt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*perf. part. of* **nōscō**, learn], known, well-known, familiar.

**ob, prep. with acc.**, on account of, for.

**on•us, -eris, n.**, burden; weight.

**op•primō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus** [**ob** + **premō**, press], press down, oppress; destroy; surprise.

**paulum, adv.** [**paulus**, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.

**prō•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [**gradior**, step], step or go forward, advance.

**propter, prep. with acc.** [**prope**, near], on account of, because of.

**simul, adv.** at once, at the same time, thereupon.

5. **Erat**: "there was."

**hās causās**: "the following reasons."

6. **in altō**: substantive use of the adj.

**cōstituī**: "to be anchored."

6–8. **militibus ... dēsiliendum**: "the soldiers had to jump down"; dat. of agent with fut. pass. periphrastic; see App. §118, *a*.

7. **ignōtīs locīs**: "in an unfamiliar place"; abl. of place where without a prep.; see App. §151, *b*. The phrase could also be construed as an abl. absolute.

8–9. **et ... et ... et**: POLYSYNDETON; see App. §301, *f*.

9–12. **cum ... conicerent et ... incitārent**: "while they were ..."; subjunctive mood in a temporal clause; see App. §§240, 242, *a*.

10. **ex āridō**: "from (on) dry land"; substantive use of the adj.

11. **nōtissimīs locīs**: "on ground they knew very well."

12. **insuēfactōs**: the horses were "trained" to fight along and in the water.

15 *Quibus rēbus nostrī perterritī atque huius omnīnō generis pugnae  
imperītī, nōn eādem alacritāte ac studiō quō in pedestribus ūtī  
proeliīs cōnsuērānt ūtēbantur.*

**alacrit•ās, -ātis, f.,** [**alacer**, lively],  
enthusiasm, eagerness.

**imperīt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **perītus**,  
experienced], inexperienced, unskilled,  
ignorant.

**omnīnō, adv.** [**omnis**, all], at all; altogether,  
only.

**pedest•er, -ris, -re, adj.** [**pēs**, foot], on foot,  
pedestrian.

**per•terreō, 2** [**terreō**, frighten], frighten  
thoroughly.

**stud•ium, -ī, n.** [**studeō**, be zealous],  
eagerness; devotion; pursuit.

**13. Quibus** = *et his*; see App. §173, a.  
**generis**: objective gen. with **imperītī**; see  
App. §98.

**14. eādem**: agrees with the nearest noun;  
see App. §157, 1.

**quō**: agrees with the nearest antecedent.  
**in pedestribus**: “on foot,” i.e., “in infantry  
battles (on land).”

**15. ūtēbantur**: “were showing.”

- [4.25] *Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, nāvēs longās, quārum et speciēs erat barbaris inūsitiō et mōtus ad ūsum expeditior, paulum removērī ab onerāriīs nāvibus et rēmīs incitārī et ad latus apertum hostium cōstituī atque inde fundīs, sagittīs, tormentis hostēs prōpelli ac submovērī iussit; quae rēs magnō ūsuī nostrīs fuit.*

**animad•vertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versum**  
[animus, mind + ad + vertō, turn], turn the mind to; notice.  
**aper•iō, -ire, -uī, -tum**, open, expose.  
**barbar•us, -a, -um, adj.**, foreign (to Romans and Greeks), uncivilized; pl. as noun: barbarians.  
**expedit•us, -a, -um, adj.** [perf. part. of expediō, set free], unimpeded; without baggage; light-armed.  
**fund•a, -ae, f.**, sling.  
**incitō, 1 [citō]**, put in motion], set in motion; excite, urge on; exasperate.  
**inde, adv.**, from that place; then.  
**inūsitiāt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + ūsitiātus, usual], unusual, startling.  
**lat•us, -eris, n.**, side; wing or flank of an army.  
**mōt•us, -ūs, m.** [moveō, move], movement; uprising, disturbance.

**onerārī•us, -a, -um, adj.** [onus, load], equipped for loads; with nāvis, transport, freight ship.  
**paulum, adv.** [paulus, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.  
**pro•pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum [pellō]**, drive], put to flight, rout; drive back.  
**re•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [moveō, move], move back or away, withdraw.  
**rēm•us, -ī, m.**, oar.  
**sagitt•a, -ae, f.**, arrow.  
**speci•ēs, -eī, f.** [speciō, see], sight; appearance.  
**sub•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [moveō, move], drive away.  
**tormēt•um, -ī, n.** [torqueō, twist], means of twisting; an engine or machine for hurling missiles, e.g., catapults and ballista.  
**ubi, adv.**, when.

**1. Quod ubi:** equivalent in sense to *et ubi id*; **quod** refers to all that was just described; *conjunctio relativa*; see App. §173, a.

**animadvertit:** indicative in a temporal clause after **ubi**.

**2. inūsitiātior:** “less familiar,” hence “more startling” and more likely to disorient the Britons who were familiar with barges (“transports”), but not the technological wizardry of boats with rudders and oars.

**mōtus . . . expeditior:** “whose movement was more unimpeded for use (i.e., in the practice of sailing).”

**4. latus apertum:** “exposed flank or side.”

**4–5. fundīs, sagittīs, tormentis:** “with slingshots, arrows, catapults”; ASYNDETON, which underscores Caesar’s efficient decision making; see App. §§301, a.

**5. quae rēs:** “and this maneuver.”

**6. ūsuī nostrīs fuit:** “was of great use (i.e., very advantageous) for us”; double dat. with the verb *sum*; dat. of purpose (**ūsui**) and dat. of reference (**nostrīs**); see App. §§119–120.

*Nam et nāvium figūrā et rēmōrum mōtū et inūsītātō genere tormentōrum permōtī barbarī cōnstitērunt ac paulum modo pedem rettulērunt. Atque nostrīs militibus cūnctantibus,*  
 10 *maximē propter altitūdinem maris, quī decimae legiōnis aquilam ferēbat, obtestātus deōs, ut ea rēs legiōnī fēliciter ēvenīret,*

**altitūd-ō, -inis, f.** [**altus**, high, deep], depth.  
**aquil-a, -ae, f.**, an eagle; a military standard  
 (the aquila was the main standard of the  
 legion).

**barbar-us, -a, -um, adj.**, foreign (to Romans  
 and Greeks), uncivilized; pl. as noun:  
 barbarians.

**cūnctor**, 1, delay, hesitate, be reluctant.

**decim-us, -a, -um** [**decem**, ten], ord. num.,  
 adj., tenth.

**de-us, -ī** (nom. pl.: **dii**; dat. pl.: **dīs**), m., god.  
**ē-veniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventum** [**veniō**,  
 come], turn out, result.

**fēliciter, adv.** [**fēlix**, happy], happily,  
 fortunately.

**figūr-a, -ae, f.** [**figō**, form], form, shape.

**inūsītāt-us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **ūsītātus**,  
 usual], unusual, startling.

**magis, adv. comp.** [from **magnus**, large],  
 more, rather; **superl.**: **maximē**, especially.

**mare, maris, n.**, sea.

**modo, adv.** [**modus**, measure], with measure  
 or limit; only; just, at least, but; of time,  
 just now.

**mōt-us, -ūs, m.** [**moveō**, move], movement;  
 uprising, disturbance.

**obtestor**, 1 [**testor**, witness], call to witness;  
 beseech, entreat.

**paulum, adv.** [**paulus**, little], a little,  
 somewhat, slightly.

**per-moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum**  
 [**moveō**, move], move thoroughly; incite.

**pēs, pedis, m.**, the foot, a foot; **pedem**  
**referre**, retreat.

**propter, prep. with acc.** [**prope**, near], on  
 account of, because of.

**referō, referre, rettulī, relātum** [**re** + **ferō**,  
 carry. App. §81], report; **pedem referre**,  
 go back, retreat.

**rēm-us, -ī, m.**, oar.

**torment-um, -ī, n.** [**torqueō**, twist], means  
 of twisting; an engine or machine for  
 hurling missiles, e.g., catapults and ballista.

7–8. **figūrā et . . . mōtū et . . . genere . . . permōtī**: “scared by the shape . . . and the movement . . . and the type”; POLYSYNDETON, which underscores the many things put into efficient action by Caesar that frightened the “barbarians”; see App. §301, f.

8. **paulum modo**: “just a little”; much effort for small progress, but Caesar effectively places the reader in the midst of the action.

9. **nostrīs . . . cūnctantibus**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

10. **altitūdinem**: “depth.” The ships could not be brought very close to shore because of their size, and the men were hesitant to jump fully armed into relatively deep water, especially while under fire from the shore.

**quī**: the antecedent is the unexpressed subject of **inquit** (line 12), i.e., the *aquilifer* (standard-bearer) who carries the legion’s “eagle” (*aquila*) into battle, so translate *is quī*.

11. **aquilam**: a legion’s standard was considered a protective god, and received religious worship. Soldiers were deeply devoted to their “eagle,” and jealously guarded it.

**deōs**: soldiers preferred to have the gods on their side. *Fēlicitās* is what the gods bestowed on those whom they favored: the happiness that comes from success and good fortune.

12. **ēvenīret**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command) after **obtestātus**; see App. §228, a.

- “Dēsilitē,” inquit, “commilitōnēs, nisi vultis aquilam  
*hostibus* prōdere; egō certē meum *rei publicae atque imperatōri*  
*officium* praestiterō.” *Hoc cum* vōce magnā dixisset, sē ex nāvī  
 15 prōiēcit *atque in hostēs* aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri  
*cohortāti inter sē, nē tantum* dēdecus admitterētur, ūniversī  
*ex nāvī* dēsiluērunt. Hōs item *ex proximīs primī* nāvibus cum  
 cōspexissent, subsecūtī *hostibus* appropinquārunt.

**ad•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -misum** [mittō, send], admit; commit; incur.  
**appropinquō**, 1 [ad + propinquus, near], come near, approach.  
**aquil•a, -ae, f.**, an eagle; a military standard.  
**certē**, *adv.* [certus, certain], certainly; at least.  
**cohortor**, 1 [co + hortor, encourage], encourage greatly, cheer, animate.  
**commilitō, -ōnis, m.** [miles, soldier], fellow soldier, comrade.  
**cōn•spiciō, -spicere, -spexi, -spectum** [speciō, look], look at, discern, perceive.  
**dē•decus, -oris, n.** [decus, honor], dishonor, disgrace.  
**dē•siliō, -silire, -silui, -sultum** [saliō, jump], jump from, dismount.  
**ego, mei** (App. §51), *first pers. pron.*, I, me.  
**imperāt•or, -ōris, m.** [imperō, order], commander-in-chief, general.

**inqu•am, -is, -it**, say.  
**item**, *adv.*, in like manner, so, also, just so.  
**me•us, -a, -um, poss. adj.** [of the pron. egō, my, mine].  
**nisi**, *conj.* [ne- + si, if], if not, except, unless.  
**offic•ium, -ī, n.**, allegiance, duty; business.  
**prae•stō, -stāre, -stiti, -stātum** [stō, stand], stand or place before; show, exhibit, supply; be superior, excel, surpass.  
**prōd•ō, -dere, -didi, -ditum** [dō, give], give forth, reveal; betray; hand down.  
**prō•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [iaciō, throw. App. §7], throw forward or away; reject, give up; sē prōicere, cast oneself; jump.  
**sub•sequor, -sequi, -secutus** [sequor, follow], follow closely.  
**ūnivers•us, -a, -um, adj.** [unus, one + vertō, turn], all together, whole.  
**vōx, vōcis, f.**, voice; shout; word.

**14. praestiterō**: the fut. perf. emphasizes that at least the speaker, as opposed to his audience (whose enthusiasm is in doubt), will have discharged his duties.

**vōce**: abl. of manner; see App. §142.

**dixisset**: subjunctive in a temporal clause with **cum**.

**16. inter sē**: “each other” or “one another”; see App. §166.

**tantum dēdecus**: the loss of their “eagle.”

**admitterētur**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command) after **cohortāti**.

**17. cum**: although it generally belongs at the beginning of its clause, by delaying **cum**,

Caesar increases the drama of the scene. Note too the INTERLOCKED WORD ORDER. The “first men” (i.e., the men up front with a view of the action) on the closest ships, who catch sight of them (i.e., the men following the standard bearer), are in this sentence surrounded by the ships and the adj. that modifies them. Compare how much flatter a more standard word order would be: *cum ex proximīs nāvibus primī hōs item cōspexissent*, etc.

**18. appropinquārunt** = *appropinquāvērunt*.



- [4.26] *Pugnātum est ab utrīque ācriter. Nostrī tamen, quod neque ōrdinēs servāre neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequī poterant atque alius aliā ex nāvī quibuscumque signīs occurrerat sē adgregābat, magnopere perturbābantur; hostēs*  
 5 *vērō, nōtis omnibus vadīs, ubi ex litore aliquōs singulārēs ex nāvī ēgredientēs cōspexerant, incitātis equīs impeditōs adoriēbantur, plūrēs paucōs circumсистēbant, aliī ab latere apertō in ūniversōs tēla coniciēbant.*

**ācriter** *adv.* [ācer, sharp], sharply, fiercely.  
**adgregō**, 1 [ad + grex, flock] *unite in a flock;* assemble; join, attach.  
**ad•orior, -oriri, -ortus sum** [orior, arise], rise against, attack.  
**aper•iō, -īre, -uī, -ertum**, open, expose.  
**circum•sistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [sistō, stand]**, surround.  
**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [co + iaciō, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.  
**cōn•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum** [speciō, look], look at, discern, perceive.  
**ē•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [gradior, step], come forth, depart; march out, make a sortie; disembark.  
**firmiter**, *adv.* [firmus, firm], firmly.  
**impediō**, 4 [in + pēs, foot], obstruct, hinder, delay.  
**incitō**, 1 [citō, put in motion], set in motion; excite, urge on; exasperate.  
**in•sistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [sistō, stand]**, stand upon; stand firm, take a stand.  
**lat•us, -eris, n.**, side; wing or flank of an army.

**lit•us, -eris, n.**, beach, shore.  
**magnopere**, *adv.* [magnus, large + opus, work], greatly.  
**nōt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [perf. part. of nōscō, learn], known, well-known, familiar.  
**oc•currō, -currere, -curri, -cursum** [ob + currō, run], meet; happen upon; come to.  
**pauc•ī, -ae, -a, adj.**, few; as noun: few persons or things.  
**perturbō**, 1 [turbō, disturb], disturb greatly; throw into confusion; terrify.  
**servō**, 1, save, preserve; maintain; guard.  
**sign•um, -ī, n.**, signal; standard.  
**singulār•is, -e, adj.** [singulī, one each], one at a time; single; remarkable.  
**sub•sequor, -sequi, -secūtus** [sequor, follow], follow closely.  
**ubi**, *adv.* when, where.  
**ūnivers•us, -a, -um, adj.** [unus, one + vertō, turn], all together, whole.  
**vad•um, -ī, n.**, ford, shallow.  
**vērō**, *adv.* [vērus, true], truly; but, however.

1. **Pugnātum est:** impers. use of a personal verb in the pass.; see App. §87, *d*.

2. **ōrdinēs servāre:** “keep to their ranks” or “preserve their formations.”

3. **alius aliā ex nāvī:** “one man from another ship” is Latin’s idiomatic way of saying in the sing. what we generally say in the pl.: “various men from different ships.” The sing. verbs that follow agree, of course, with **alius**, so you will have to adjust your translation there too to get the general sense. On the other hand, each man was doing this individually, so you can also try translating with the sing. for a more literal translation.

3–4. **quibuscumque signīs occurrerat:** “with whatever standards they (he) had ‘run into’ or happened upon.”

4. **sē adgregābat:** “they (he) would attach themselves (himself) in formation.”

5. **singulārēs:** “one at a time.”

5–6. **ubi . . . cōspexerant:** “whenever they had caught sight.”

6. **incitātis equīs:** abl. absolute, attendant circumstances; see App. §§142, *b*; 150.

7. **adoriēbantur:** “they would repeatedly attack”; see App. §191, *a*.

8. **ūniversōs:** “the whole group (of Romans).”

- 10 *Quod cum* animadvertisset Caesar, scaphās longārum nāvium,  
item speculātōria nāvigia militibus complēri iussit, et quōs  
labōrantēs cōspexerat, hīs subsidia submittēbat. Nostrī, simul  
in āridō cōstitērunt, suis omnibus cōsecūtīs, in hostēs impetum  
fēcērunt atque eōs in fugam dedērunt; neque longius prōsequī  
15 potuērunt, quod equitēs cursum tenēre atque insulam capere nōn  
potuerant.

**animad•vertō, -vertere, -verti, -versum**

[animus, mind + ad + vertō, turn], turn the mind to; notice.

**ārid•us, -a, um, adj.** [āreō, be dry], dry; n. as noun: dry land.

**com•pleō, -plēre, -plēvi, -plētum** [obs.: pleō, fill], fill up; complete; cover.

**cōn•sequor, -sequi, -secutus sum** [sequor, follow], follow up; reach.

**cōn•spiciō, -spicere, -spexi, -spectum** [speciō, look], look at, discern, perceive.

**curs•us, -ūs, m.** [currō, run], speed; course; voyage.

**fug•a, -ae, f.**, flight; **in fugam conicere or dare**, put to flight.

**impet•us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.

**insul•a, -ae, f.**, island.

**item, adv.**, in like manner, so, also, just so.

**labōrō, 1** [labor, toil], work hard; labor, be hard pressed.

**nāvig•ium, -i, n.** [nāvigō, sail], ship.

**prō•sequor, -sequi, -secutus sum** [sequor, follow], follow; pursue.

**scaph•a, -ae, f.**, skiff, boat.

**simul, adv.** at once, at the same time, thereupon.

**speculātōri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [speculātor, spy], scouting.

**sub•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum** [mittō, send], send, send to the assistance of.

**subsid•ium, -i, n.** [subsidiō, sit near or in reserve], reserve force; help.

**9. Quod cum:** equivalent in sense to *et cum* id; *conjunctio relativa*; see App. §173, a.

**scaphās:** small boats that were carried on the warships (*longae nāvēs*).

**10. speculātōria nāvigia:** “spy craft”; smaller boats for reconnaissance that could move more quickly and in shallow water.

**quōs:** the rel. comes before its antecedent *hīs*, which makes sense chronologically.

**10–11. iussit . . . cōspexerat . . . submittēbat:** perf. . . . plupf. . . . impf.; as always, Caesar’s use of tense is precise: “he commanded” after “he had seen,” and then “he was sending help.”

**11. simul = simul atque.**

**11–12. Nostrī . . . suis omnibus:** “our (men) . . . all their (comrades).”

**13. longius:** “very far.” We are taught to use “rather” with comparatives and “very” with superlatives, but try both, and decide which makes more sense in context. Such rules are guidelines, not immutable laws.

**14. cursum tenēre:** “hold their course.” The cavalry were following separately.

**insulam capere:** “reach the island.” The failure of the cavalry to arrive will impede Caesar’s military operations because cavalry traditionally chase and kill retreating enemies. If one’s enemies escape, they can later regroup and fight again.

*Hoc ūnum ad pristinam fortūnam Caesarī dēfuit.*

**dē•sum, -esse, -fui**, — [**sum**, be. App. §66],  
be lacking, be absent from, fail.

**fortūn•a, -ae, f.** [**fors**, chance], fortune,  
chance, opportunity, condition; success,  
property. *All fortuna was the domain of*

*the goddess Fortuna, a deity Caesar and his  
troops cultivated with great devotion.*

**pristin•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*from prior*,  
former], former; previous.

**16. Hoc ūnum:** “this one thing,” i.e., the  
ability to pursue the fleeing Britons.

**pristinam fortūnam:** Caesar’s “luck,”  
or good fortune, was well-established and  
long-standing. Like most Roman generals,  
he would have attributed such success to  
special divine favor. The phrase also turns  
what was in fact a very difficult landing into  
something of a success in the eyes of the  
reader. The whole sequence draws us in, so

that we admire Caesar’s quick thinking and  
his soldiers’ bravery. We take their side, and  
are relieved when they finally make it rela-  
tively safely to shore. A more matter-of-fact  
presentation of a difficult landing might oth-  
erwise have led a skeptical reader in Rome  
to ask whether Caesar, perhaps with better  
planning, could have found a way to land  
without immediately coming under attack  
from a watchful enemy!

- [4.27] *Hostēs proeliō superātī, simul atque sē ex fugā recēpērunt, statim ad Caesarem lēgātōs dē pāce mīsērunt; obsidēs datūrōs quaeque imperāssēt factūrōs sēsē polliciti sunt. Ūnā cum hīs lēgātīs Commius Atrebās vēnit, quem suprà dēmōnstrāveram*  
 5 *ā Caesare in Britanniam praemisum.*

**Atre•bās, -bātis, m.,** an Atrebatian; *pl.* the Atrebates.

**Com•mius, -mī, m.,** Commius, *a leader of the Atrebates. He was loyal to Caesar until 52 BCE when he led troops in support of the general Gallic revolt.*

**dēmōnstrō, 1 [mōnstrō, show],** point out, explain, describe; declare.

**fug•a, -ae, f.,** flight.

**imperō, 1 [in + parō, procure],** demand from; order, instruct, rule.

**ob•ses, -idis, m. and f. [obsidēō, blockade],** hostage; pledge, security.

**pāx, pācis, f.,** peace treaty, truce, peace, favor.  
**polliceor, 2 [prō + liceor, bid, offer],** offer, promise.

**prae•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -misum**  
**[mittō, send],** send before or in advance.

**simul, adv.,** at once, at the same time, thereupon; **simul atque,** as soon as.

**statim, adv. [stō, stand],** immediately.

**superō, 1 [super, over],** go over; be superior to, conquer; remain.

**suprà, adv.,** before.

**veniō, venire, vēnī, ventum,** come, arrive, go, advance.

**2. lēgātōs dē pāce:** “negotiators for (the terms of a) peace (treaty).” In addition to “peace,” *pāx* signifies the cessation of armed conflict, i.e., a “truce,” according to the stipulations of an agreement, which we might call a “pact.”

**2–3. datūrōs . . . factūrōs:** fut. inf.s. without *esse* in indirect statement with **polliciti sunt:** “they promised that they (*sēsē*) would,” etc.

**4. Commius:** Caesar had earlier sent Commius to the Britons as an envoy, but they arrested him on arrival. After their defeat, the

Britons hope that, by returning Commius to Caesar, they will gain better terms.

**dēmōnstrāveram:** uncharacteristically, Caesar uses the first person. Why? He writes as an author, explaining that he has mentioned Commius earlier in his narrative. When, on the other hand, Caesar the author tells a story in which Caesar the general plays a role, Caesar the author describes Caesar the general, as he does all the characters in his seemingly objective narrative, in the third person.

*Hunc illi ē nāvī ēgressum, cum ad eōs ōrātōris modō Caesaris  
mandāta dēferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula coniēcērant;  
tum proeliō factō remisērunt et in petendā pāce eius rei culpam  
in multitudīnem contulērunt et propter imprudentiam ut  
10 ignōscerētur petivērunt.*

**com•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], lay hold of, seize, arrest.

**cōn•ferō, -ferre, contuli, collātus** [**ferō**, bring. App. §81], collect, carry; ascribe to; compare.

**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**co** + **iaciō**, throw. App. §7], throw; put.

**culp•a, -ae, f.**, blame, fault, guilt.

**dē•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry, take; report; bring before; bestow.

**ē•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [**gradior**, step], come forth, depart; march out, make a sortie; disembark.

**ig•nōscō, -nōscere, -nōvī, -nōtum** [**in** + (**g**)**nōscēns**, knowing (*from* **nōscō**, know)], forgive, pardon.

**imprudenti•a, -ae, f.** [**imprūdēns**, imprudent], ignorance, indiscretion.

**mandāt•um, -i, n.** [**mandō**, command], order; message.

**mod•us, -i, m.**, measure, quantity, size; manner, method.

**ōrāt•or, -ōris, m.** [**ōrō**, speak], speaker; ambassador, envoy.

**pāx, pācis, f.**, peace treaty, truce, peace, favor.

**propter**, *prep. with acc.* [**prope**, near], on account of, because of.

**re•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send or dispatch back, return; release, relax, give up.

**vincul•a, -ae, f.** [**vinciō**, bind], chain.

**6. ōrātōris modō:** Commius made a formal presentation of Caesar's demands in his role as Caesar's envoy. Instead of preparing an answer, the Britons arrested him.

**8. petendā:** gerundive; see App. §§288, 294.

**eius rei:** Commius's mistreatment.

**9. multitudīnem:** the envoys blame the lower classes, whose desires they claim their leaders were unable to resist or deny.

**imprudentiam:** in addition to passing the blame, the envoys also claim that British leaders were ignorant.

**10. ignōscerētur:** subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose with **petivērunt**; see App. §228, *a*.

- Caesar questus quod, cum ultrō in continentem lēgātīs missīs  
pācem ab sē petissent, bellum sine causā intulissent, ignōscere  
imprudentiae dixit obsidēsque imperāvit; quōrum illī partem  
statim dedērunt, partem ex longinquiōribus locīs arcessitā  
15 paucīs diēbus sēsē datūrōs dixerunt. Intereā suōs remigrāre  
in agrōs iussērunt, principēsque undique convenīre et sē  
cīvitātēsque suās Caesarī commendāre coepērunt.

**arcess•ō, -ere, -ivī, -itum**, summon, send  
for, invite.

**commendō**, 1 [**mandō**, entrust], entrust,  
surrender.

**ig•nōscō, -nōscere, -nōvī, -nōtum** [**in**  
+ (**g**)**nōscēns**, knowing (*from* **nōscō**,  
know)], forgive, pardon.

**imperō**, 1 [**in** + **parō**, procure], demand  
from; order, instruct, rule.

**imprudenti•a, -ae, f.** [**imprūdēns**,  
imprudent], ignorance, indiscretion.

**inferō, inferre, intulī, illātum** [**ferō**, carry.  
App. §81], carry into, import, inflict,  
cause, produce; cast into.

**intereā, adv.**, in the meantime, meanwhile.

**longinqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**longus**, long],  
distant, remote; long.

**ob•ses, -idis, m. and f.** [**obsideō**, blockade],  
hostage; pledge, security.

**pauc•i, -ae, -a, adj.**, few; *as noun*: few persons  
or things.

**pāx, pācis, f.**, peace treaty, truce, peace,  
favor.

**prīn•ceps, -cipis, adj.** [**prīmus**, first], first;  
*as noun*, chief or leader.

**queror, querī, questus sum**, complain,  
bewail, lament.

**re•migrō**, 1 [**migrō**, move, migrate], move  
back, return.

**statim, adv.** [**stō**, stand], immediately.

**ultrō, adv.**, voluntarily; besides, moreover.

**undique, adv.** [**unde**, whence], on all sides,  
everywhere.

**11. quod**: when **quod** introduces a causal clause, the clause can take either the subjunctive or the indicative. The indicative represents the speaker's own reasoning; the subjunctive someone else's or a change in attitude in the speaker toward his own reasoning.

**11–12. cum . . . petissent**: "although . . . they (were the ones who) had requested." Even before Caesar sailed with eighty ships to their island, the Britons were well aware of Caesar's many victories in Gaul. As a precaution, they had sent envoys to the continent to arrange a "treaty" (*pāx*) with the victorious general.

**11–13. Caesar . . . dixit . . . imperāvit** (que): **HYPERBATON**; see App. §301, *f*.

**12. bellum sine causā intulissent**: Caesar arrived in Britain with warships and soldiers; yet Caesar claims that the British waged unprovoked war on him.

**12–13. ignōscere . . . dixit**: the envoys gain their request.

**13. imprudentiae**: dat. indirect object with an intransitive verb; see App. §115.

**obsidēs**: these hostages for good behavior would have included close relatives of the British leaders.

**14–15. partem . . . arcessitā**: "because some had been summoned . . ."; the part. takes the place of a subordinate clause; see App. §283.

**15. datūrōs**: fut. inf. with *esse* omitted in indirect statement.

**suōs**: "their people."

**16. convenīre**: "assemble"; at a place determined by Caesar for their formal surrender.

**17. commendāre**: "entrust"; Latin uses terms that suggest reciprocal personal relationships, although what they are actually doing is submitting to Caesar's superior military power in formal surrender.

[4.28] *His rēbus pāce cōfirmātā, post diem quārtum quam est in Britanniam ventum nāvēs XVIII, dē quibus suprà dēmōnstrātum est, quae equitēs sustulerant, ex superiōre portū lēnī ventō solvērunt.*

**cōfirmō**, 1 [**fīrmō**, strengthen], establish, strengthen, encourage, console; declare.

**dēmōnstrō**, 1 [**mōnstrō**, show], point out, explain, describe; declare.

**lēn•is, -e**, *adj.*, gentle, mild, smooth.

**pāx, pācis**, *f.*, peace treaty, truce, peace, favor.

**port•us, -ūs**, *m.*, harbor, haven, port.

**post**, *prep. with acc.*, behind, after.

**quārt•us, -a, -um**, *adj., ord. num.* [**quattuor**, four], fourth.

**solvō, solvere, solvī, solūtum**, loosen, untie; *with or without nāvēs*, set sail.

**suprà**, *adv.* before.

**tollō, tollere, sustuli, sublātum**, lift up; take on board; remove; destroy.

**veniō, venire, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance; *pass. often impers. as ventum est*, they came, it came, etc.

**vent•us, -ī**, *m.*, wind.

**XVIII**, sign for **duodēviginti**, eighteen (see also App. §47).

**1. His rēbus**: “these terms” or “conditions”; i.e., hostages, assembly in Caesar’s camp, and formal submission.

**post diem quārtum quam** = *diē quartō postquam*; the construction is idiomatic and not entirely grammatical as an attempt at a literal translation will soon demonstrate and, because Romans included both the day from which they began counting (we do not do

this) as well as the day on which they stopped counting (we do this as well), we have to subtract one day, hence: “on the third day after” or “three days after.”

**2. suprà**: See BG 4.22–23 where Caesar describes how he separated the fleet into two contingents.

**3. superiōre portū**: a port on the mainland.

- 5 *Quae cum appropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris vidērentur, tanta tempestās subitō coorta est ut nūlla eārum cursum tenēre posset, sed aliae eōdem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiōrem partem insulae, quae est propius sōlis occāsum, magnō suō cum periculō dēicerentur; quae tamen*
- 10 *ancoris iactis cum flūctibus complērentur, necessariō adversā nocte in altum prōvectae continentem petiērunt.*

**advers•us, -a, -um, adv.** [perf. part. of **advertō**, turn to], turned against; opposite; adverse, unfavorable.  
**alt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, high, deep; *n. as noun*: the deep, the sea.  
**ancor•a, -ae, f.**, anchor; **in ancoris**, at anchor.  
**appropinquō**, 1 [ad + **propinquus**, near], come near, approach.  
**com•plēō, -plēre, -plēvi, -plētum** [obs.: **plēō**, fill], fill up; complete; cover.  
**contin•ēns, -entis, adj.** [**contineō**, hold together], continuous, unbroken; *as noun*, continent.  
**co•orior, -oriri, -ortus sum** [orior, rise], arise, spring up, break out.  
**curs•us, -ūs, m.** [**currō**, run], speed; course; voyage.  
**dē•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [iaciō, throw. App. §7], cast down; dislodge; kill; disappoint.  
**flūct•us, -ūs, m.** [fluō, flow], flood, wave.  
**iaciō, iacere, iēcī, iactum**, throw, cast, hurl.  
**infer•us, -a, -um, adj.**, low, below; *comp.*: inferior, lower, inferior.

**insul•a, -ae, f.**, island.  
**necessariō, adv.** [abl. of **necessarius**, necessary], necessity, of necessity, unavoidably.  
**nūll•us, -a, -um, gen. nūllius, adj.** [ne- + ūllus, any], not any, no; *as noun*: no one, none.  
**occās•us, -ūs, m.** [**occidō**, fall, happen], falling down, setting; *with sōlis*, sunset; the west.  
**propius, adv. and prep. with acc.** (App. §122, b.) [**prope**, near], nearer.  
**prō•vehō, -vehere, -vexī, -vectum** [vehō, carry], carry forward; *pass.*, be carried forward, sail.  
**referō, referre, rettulī, relātum** [re + ferō, carry. App. §81], bear, carry back, report.  
**sōl, sōlis, m.**, the sun; **ad occidentem sōlem**, toward the setting sun or west; **ad orientem sōlem**, toward the rising sun or east.  
**subitō, adv.** [subitus, sudden], suddenly.  
**tempes•tās, -tātis, f.** [tempus, time], time, season; weather, storm.  
**unde, adv.**, from which place, whence.

5. *Quae = et illae; conjunctio relativa; see App. §173, a.*

7. *posset*: subjunctive in a clause of result; see App. §226.

7–8. *aliae ... aliae*: “some (ships) ... other (ships).”

8. *inferiōrem partem insulae*: “the lower part of the island,” i.e., the southern coast of Britain.

*propius*: “nearer to” or “toward” with acc.; see App. §122, b.

8–9. *sōlis occāsum*: “setting of the sun,” i.e., west.

9. *dēicerentur*: “were tossed” by the waves and wind.

*quae tamen = quae nāvēs tamen.*

10. *ancoris iactis*: “although they cast their anchors.”

*complērentur*: subjunctive with *cum* in a temporal clause.

10–11. *adversā nocte*: “with night opposed”; i.e., despite the danger of (sailing at) night. See also PERSONIFICATION in App. §302, h.



- [4.29] *Eādem nocte accidit ut esset lūna plēna, quī diēs maritimōs aestūs maximōs in Ōceanō efficere cōsuevit, nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita ūnō tempore et longās nāvēs, quibus exercitum trānsportandum cūrāverat, quāsque Caesar in āridum*  
 5 *subdūxerat, aestus complēverat, et onerāriās, quae ad ancorās erant delīgātae, tempestās adflctābat, neque ūlla nostris facultās aut administrandī aut auxiliandī dabātur.*

**administrō**, 1 [minister, servant], serve, attend, wait upon; manage, guide.  
**ad·flictō**, 1 [freq. of affligō], strike repeatedly, harass; oppress, vex  
**aest·us, -ūs, m.**, heat, boiling, surging, tide;  
**minuente aestū**, at ebb tide.  
**ancor·a, -ae, f.**, anchor; **in ancoris**, at anchor.  
**ārid·us, -a, -um, adj.** [āreō, be dry], dry; *n. as noun*: dry land.  
**auxilior**, 1 [auxilium, help], help, give aid, assist, render assistance.  
**com·pleō, -plēre, -plēvi, -plētum** [obs.: pleō, fill], fill up; complete; cover.  
**cūrō**, 1 [cūra, care], take care of, provide for.  
**delīgō**, 1 [ligō, bind], bind or tie down, fasten, moor.  
**ef·ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [faciō, make], make or do completely; cause.

**facul·tās, -tātis, f.** [facilis, easy], power; opportunity; resources.  
**incognit·us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + cognitus, known], unknown.  
**lūn·a, -ae, f.**, the moon.  
**maritim·us, -a, -um, adj.** [mare, sea], of the sea; on the sea.  
**Ōcean·us, -i, m.**, the ocean.  
**onerāri·us, -a, -um, adj.** [onus, load], equipped for loads; *with nāvis*, transport, freight ship.  
**plēn·us, -a, -um, adj.** [pleō, fill], full, whole, complete.  
**sub·dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead.  
**tempes·tās, -tātis, f.** [tempus, time], time, season; weather, storm.  
**trānsportō**, 1 [portō, carry], carry across or over, bring over, convey, transport.  
**ūll·us, -a, -um, adj.**, a single, any.

1. **nocte**: abl. of time when; see App. §152.  
**lūna plēna**: scholars have used this astronomical fact to calculate the night: 30–31 August 55 BCE. This means that Caesar must have landed in Britain on 27 August (“four days” earlier, counting from the 30th according to Roman methods).  
 2. **aestūs**: the tide that is increased in strength by a full moon is called a “spring tide” (this has nothing to do with the season, but instead with the surging or rising of the water; compare a spring of water).  
 2–3. **nostris . . . incognitum**: “unknown . . . to our men”; Caesar does not scold his men for their ignorance, but, of course, he does not mention that he too was ignorant of the local tides, not to mention the effect of the full moon on them. Caesar is a master at shifting blame away from himself.

3. **ūnō tempore**: abl. of time when; §152.  
**quibus**: abl. of means; §143.  
 4. **exercitum trānsportandum**: “for the conveyance of his army”; gerundive of purpose after the verb *cūrāverat*.  
 4–5. **quās . . . subdūxerat**: Caesar lets us know that he, as a prudent commander, had taken precautions by dragging the warships onto the beach.  
 5–6. **quae . . . delīgātae**: the transport ships had not been dragged ashore; they were left anchored close to shore.  
 6–7. **neque ūlla nostris facultās**: note how the men, not Caesar (who had taken insufficient precautions), are the ones who had no opportunity to manage or render assistance in this situation.

- 10 Complūribus nāvibus frāctīs, *reliquae cum essent fūnibus,*  
 ancorīs *reliquisque* armāmentīs āmissīs *ad* nāvigandum  
 inūtilēs, *magna, id quod* necesse erat *accidere, tōtius exercitūs*  
 perturbātiō *facta est. Neque enim nāvēs erant aliae quibus*  
*reportārī possent, et omnia deerant quae ad* reficiendās nāvēs  
*erant ūsuī, et, quod omnibus cōnstābat* hiemārī *in Galliā*  
*oportēre, frūmentum in hīs locīs in* hiemem prōvisum *nōn erat.*

**ā•mittō, -mittere, -misī, -missum** [mittō, send], send away, dismiss; let go; lose.  
**ancor•a, -ae, f.**, anchor; **in ancorīs**, at anchor.  
**armāment•a, -ōrum, n. pl.** [armō, arm], implements, gear; tackle or rigging (of a ship).  
**complūr•ēs, -a, adj.** [plūs, more], several, many; a great many.  
**cōn•stō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātum** [stō, stand], stand firm; depend on; be complete; cost; *impers.*: it is evident or known.  
**dē•sum, -esse, -fuī, —** [sum, be. App. §66], be lacking, be absent from, fail.  
**enim, conj.**, in fact, really; for; **sed enim**, but in fact, however.  
**frangō, frangere, frēgī, frāctum**, break, wreck; crush, discourage.  
**fūn•is, -is, m.**, rope, cable.

**hiemō, 1** [hiems, winter], pass the winter, winter.  
**hiem•s, -is, f.**, wintertime, winter.  
**inūtil•is, -e, adj.** [in + ūtilis, useful], useless, disadvantageous.  
**nāvīgō, 1** [nāvis, ship] set sail, sail.  
**necesse, indecl. adj.**, necessary, unavoidable, indispensable.  
**oport•et, -ēre, -uit, —, impers.**, it is necessary or proper.  
**perturbāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [perturbō, disturb], disturbance, disorder, confusion.  
**prō•videō, -vidēre, -vidī, -vīsum** [videō, see], see beforehand, foresee; care for, provide.  
**re•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [re + faciō, make], repair.  
**reportō, 1** [re + portō, carry], carry or bring back, convey.

**8. reliquae:** i.e., *nāvēs*; by moving “the remaining (ships)” outside the **cum** clause, Caesar places them in more dramatic contrast with those that had been shattered. Note too that the clause also ends with an adj. (**inūtilēs**) in agreement with the ellipted ships.

**8–9. fūnibus . . . āmissis:** abl. absolute, causal; see App. §150.

**9. ad nāvigandum:** gerund plus **ad** to express purpose; see App. §§287, 293.

**10. id quod:** in reference to the great disturbance; **id** is in apposition with the whole clause, and serves as the antecedent of **quod**.

**necesse:** when things go wrong, Caesar is not at fault (at least in Caesar’s narrative).

**11–12. quibus . . . possent:** “of the type by means of which,” etc.; subjunctive in a rel. clause of characteristic.

**12. ad reficiendās nāvēs:** gerundive with **ad** to express purpose; see App. §§288, 293.

**12–13. quae . . . erant:** the rel. clause explains what was meant by the indefinite antecedent (**omnia**); see App. § 231.

**13. ūsuī:** dat. of purpose; see App. §119.  
**omnibus . . . cōnstābat:** “it was obvious to everyone.” But who gave the orders?

**14. in hiemem:** “for the winter.”

**prōvisum nōn erat:** this clause lacks an abl. of agent (*ā Caesare*, for example).

- [4.30] *Quibus rēbus cognitis, prīncipēs Britanniae, quī post proelium ad Caesarem convēnerant, inter sē collocūtī, cum equitēs et nāvēs et frūmentum Rōmānīs deesse intellegerent et paucitatem militum ex castrōrum exiguitate cognōscerent,*  
 5 *quae hōc erant etiam angustiora quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiōnēs trānsportāverat, optimum factū esse dūxērunt rebellione factā frūmentō commeātūque nostrōs prohibēre et rem in hiemem prōdūcere,*

**angust-us, -a, -um, adj.,** [angō, squeeze], compressed, narrow.

**bon-us, -a, -um, adj.,** good, well-disposed; *superl.*, **optimus** (App. §42).

**commeāt-us, -ūs, m.** [commeō, go back and forth], voyage; provisions.

**de-sum, -esse, -fui, —** [sum, be. App. §66], be lacking, be absent from, fail.

**exigui-tās, -tātis, f.** [exiguus, scanty], scantiness, shortness.

**hiem-s, -is, f.,** wintertime, winter.

**impediment-um, -i, n.** [impediō, hinder], hindrance; *pl.*: baggage, baggage train.

**intel-legō, -legere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [inter + legō, choose, select], select; understand; perceive; find out.

**pauci-tās, -tātis, f.** [paucus, few], fewness, small number.

**post, prep.** with *acc.*, behind, after.

**prīn-ceps, -cipis** [prīmus, first], chief, first; *as noun*, chief or leader.

**prō-dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead out; prolong.

**prohibeō, 2** [habeō, hold], keep from, keep, restrain, prevent, prohibit; keep out or away from; protect, guard.

**rebelli-ō, -ōnis, f.** [rebellō, renew war], renewal of war, rebellion, revolt.

**trānsportō, 1** [portō, carry], carry across or over, bring over, convey, transport.

**1. prīncipēs Britanniae:** “the chiefs of the British tribes”; subject of **dūxērunt**. After they realize that Caesar has lost his ships, their attitude shifts from defense to offense.

**2–4. cum . . . cognōscerent:** subjunctive in a causal clause.

**3. et . . . et:** POLYSYNDETON; see App. §301, f.

**5. quae hōc . . . angustiora:** “which (the antecedent is the n. pl. **castra**) was even smaller *because of the following (fact)*”; **hōc** anticipates **quod**, which explains why the camp was so small. Abl. of cause; see App. §138.

**6. optimum factū:** “the best thing to do”; for the supine in the abl. with *adj.*, see App. §§296, 510.

**6–7. rebellione factā:** “if they were to rebel”; abl. absolute, equivalent to a condition; see App. §150.

**7. frūmentō commeātūque:** abl. of separation (similarly **reditū** below); see App. §134.

**rem:** ongoing negotiations with Caesar about the surrender of hostages, etc.

- quod hīs superātis aut reditū interclūsīs nēminem  
postea bellī inferendī causā in Britanniam trānsitūrum  
cōnfidēbant. Itaque rūsus coniūrātiōne factā paulātim ex  
castrīs discēdere et suōs clam ex agrīs dēducere coepērunt.*

**clam**, *adv.*, secretly.

**cōn•fidō**, -fidere, -fisi, -fisum [fidō, trust.

App. §74], rely on, feel confident, hope.

**coniūrāti•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [coniūrō, swear], a swearing together; plot, conspiracy.

**dē•ducō**, -ducere, -dūxi, -ductum [ducō, lead], lead down; bring, conduct.

**in•ferō**, inferre, intuli, illātum [ferō, carry. App. §81], carry into, import, inflict, cause, produce; cast into.

**inter•clūdō**, -clūdere, -clūsi, -clūsum [claudō, shut], shut or cut off.

**itaque**, *conj.* [ita, so], and so, therefore.

**nēmō**, *acc. nēminem, m. and f.* [ne- + homō, human being], no one, nobody.

**paulātim**, *adv.* [paulus, little], little by little, by degrees, gradually.

**postea**, *adv.* [post, after], after this, afterward.

**redit•us**, -ūs, *m.* [redeō, return], returning, return.

**rūsus**, *adv.* [for reversus, from revertō, turn back], again, back, anew; in turn.

**superō**, 1 [super, over], go over; be superior to, conquer; remain.

**trāns•eō**, -ire, -ii, -itum [eō, go. App. §84], cross; march through; migrate.

**8. hīs . . . interclūsīs**: another abl. absolute equivalent to a conditional; see App. §150.

**9. bellī inferendī causā**: gerundive with causā to express purpose; see App. §§288, 291.

**trānsitūrum**: fut. inf. without esse in indirect statement dependent on cōnfidēbant.

**10. rūsus coniūrātiōne factā**: “having renewed by oaths their mutual loyalty”; abl. absolute; see App. §150. Because they oppose him, Caesar brands the British chiefs “conspirators.” Because they plan in secret

and take religious oaths, the term is objectively true. Of course, Caesar likely failed to broadcast his military plans publicly in advance of operations. Did Caesar’s men take oaths to obey him? Were he and his staff “conspirators”?

**10–11. ex castrīs**: the British leaders had gathered in Caesar’s camp to deliver hostages and make formal submission. They began to slip away.

**11. suōs**: “their men.”

[4.31] *At Caesar, etsi nōndum eōrum cōnsilia cognōverat, tamen et ex ēventū nāvium suārum et ex eō quod obsidēs dare intermiserant fore id quod accidit suspicābātur. Itaque ad omnēs cāsūs subsidia comparābat. Nam et frūmentum ex agrīs*  
 5 *cotidiē in castra cōferēbat et, quae gravissimē adflictae erant nāvēs, eārum māteriā atque aere ad reliquās reficiendās ūtēbātur et quae ad eās rēs erant ūsuī ex continentī comparārī iubēbat.*

**ad•fligō, -fligere, -flixi, -flictum**, strike against; overthrow; damage, injure.

**aes, aeris, n.**, copper.

**cās•us, -ūs, m.** [**cadō**, fall], accident, chance, misfortune.

**comparō**, 1 [**parō**, prepare], prepare; acquire, prepare for.

**cōn•ferō, -ferre, contuli, collātus** [**ferō**, bring. App. §81], collect, carry; ascribe to; compare.

**contin•ēns, -entis, adj.** [**contineō**, hold together], continuous, unbroken; *as noun*, continent.

**cotidiē**, *adv.* [**quot**, how many + **diēs**, day], daily, every day.

**etsi**, *conj.* [**et** + **si**, if], even if, although.

**ēvent•us, -ūs, m.** [**ēveniō**, turn out], outcome, issue, result, consequence.

**inter•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send between; intervene, separate; cease; delay, neglect; let pass.

**itaque**, *conj.* [**ita**, so], and so, therefore.

**māteri•a, -ae, f.**, material; wood, timber.

**nōndum**, *adv.* [**nōn** + **dum**], not yet.

**ob•ses, -idis, m. and f.** [**obsideō**, blockade], hostage; pledge, security.

**re•ficiō, -ficere, -feci, -fectum** [**re** + **faciō**, make], repair.

**subsid•ium, -i, n.** [**subsideō**, sit near or in reserve], reserve force; help.

**suspikor**, 1 [**suspiciō**, suspect], suspect, distrust; surmise.

2. **ex ēventū**: “from the fate.”

**ex eō quod**: “from this (fact) that”; **quod** introduces a substantive clause; see App. §248, *a*.

3. **fore** = *futūrum esse* in indirect statement dependent on **suspiciābātur**.

**quod accidit**: “what actually happened.”

4. **comparābat**: Caesar tells us that he analyzed the situation, and then took all possible precautions. Caesar takes credit for superior leadership when he can.

**frūmentum**: grain could be harvested only when it was ripe, and bread was the main staple in a soldier’s diet.

5–6. **quae . . . nāvēs, eārum** (*nāvium*) . . .

**reliquās** (*nāvēs*): the ships (the proper antecedent with **eārum**) have been brought into the subordinate clause to round it off rhetorically, and ellipted twice from the main clause. To make the meaning clearer in English, translate *eārum nāvium, quae . . .*

7. **quae . . . ūsuī**: we may supply an ellipted **ea** in the acc. (and hence subject of the pass. complementary inf. **comparārī**) to serve as the antecedent of **quae**.

Itaque, *cum summō studiō ā militibus* administrārētur, XII  
*nāvibus* āmissis, *reliquīs ut nāvigārī commodē posset* effēcit.

**administrō**, 1 [**minister**, servant], serve, attend, wait upon; manage, guide.

**ā-mittō**, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum [**mittō**, send], send away, dismiss; let go; lose.

**commodē**, *adv.* [**commodus**, convenient], conveniently; readily, easily, fitly; **satis commodē**, to great advantage, very easily.

**ef-ficiō**, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum [**faciō**, make], make *or* do completely, complete, construct; cause, render.

**itaque**, *conj.* [**ita**, so], and so, therefore, accordingly.

**nāvigō**, 1 [**nāvis**, ship] set sail, sail.

**stud-ium**, -ī, *n.* [**studeō**, be zealous], eagerness; devotion; pursuit.

**XII**, *sign for duodecim*, twelve (*see also* App. §47).

**8. summō studiō**: abl. of manner; *see* App. §142.

**cum . . . administrārētur**: subjunctive in a causal clause.

**8–9. XII . . . āmissis**: “although we lost twelve ships”; abl. absolute; *see* App. §150.

**9. reliquīs (nāvibus)**: abl. of means; *see* App. §143.

**ut . . . posset**: subjunctive in a clause of result; *see* App. §226.

- [4.32] *Dum ea geruntur, legiōne ex cōsuētūdine ūnā frūmentātum missā, quae appellābātur septima, neque ūllā ad id tempus bellī suspiciōne interpositā, cum pars hominum in agrīs remanēret, pars etiam in castra ventitāret, eī quī prō portīs*  
 5 *castrōrum in statiōne erant Caesarī nūntiāvērunt pulverem maiōrem quam cōsuētūdō ferret in eā parte vidērī quam in partem legiō iter fēcisset.*

**appellō, -āre**, 1, call, name.

**cōsuētūdō, -inis**, *f.* [cōsuēscō, become accustomed], habit, custom, practice; “lifestyle.”

**frūmentor**, 1 [frūmentum, grain], get grain, forage.

**inter•pōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum** [pōnō, put], interpose; allege; cause.

**maior, māius**, *adj.* [*comp. of magnus*, large], larger; older, elder.

**nūntiō**, 1 [nūntius, messenger], announce, report; order.

**port•a, -ae**, *f.*, gate.

**pulv•is, -eris**, *m.*, dust.

**re•maneō, -manēre, -mānsī, -mānsū** [re + maneō, remain], stay behind, remain.

**septim•us, -a, -um**, *ordinal num.*, *adj.*, seventh.

**stati•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [stō, stand], standing; sentries, outposts; **in statiōne esse**, be on guard.

**suspici•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [suspīcor, suspect], suspicion, distrust; surmise.

**ūll•us, -a, -um** *gen. ūllius* (App. §32), *adj.*, a single, any.

**ventitō**, 1 [*frequentative of veniō*, come], keep coming, resort; go back and forth, visit.

**1. geruntur**: historical pres.; see App. §190, *a*.

**2. frūmentātum**: supine in the acc. to express purpose; see App. §295.

**2–3. neque ūllā . . . suspiciōne**: Caesar just told us above that he knew exactly what was going to happen because of the disaster to his ships and the small size of his camp, but now he tells us that his men were suspecting nothing. On the other hand, if they had been suspicious, their inattentiveness to security would have reflected badly on Caesar’s leadership.

**4. ventitāret**: “repeatedly came” (with the grain they were harvesting); freq. form of *veniō*.

**5. pulverem**: acc. subject of the inf. **vidērī** in indirect statement dependent on **nūntiāvērunt**.

**6. quam cōsuētūdō ferret**: “than regular operations would produce”; subjunctive because the clause is subordinate in indirect statement.

**6–7. quam in partem**: “in which direction.”

- 10 *Caesar id quod erat suspicātus aliquid novī ā barbarīs initum cōnsilī, cohortēs quae in statīōnibus erant sēcum in eam partem proficiscī, ex reliquīs duās in statīōnem cohortēs succēdere, reliquās armārī et cōnfestim sēsē subsequī iussit. Cum paulō longius ā castrīs prōcessisset, suōs ab hostibus premī atque aegrē sustinēre et cōnfertā legiōne ex omnibus partibus tēla conici animadvertit.*

**ae•ger, -gra, -grum**, *adj.*, sick, ill.

**animad•vertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versum**  
[**animus**, mind + **ad** + **vertō**, turn], turn the mind to; notice.

**armō**, 1 [**arma**, arms], arm, equip; *pass.* arm oneself; **armātus**, *perf. part.*, as *adj.*, armed; **armāti**, as *noun*, armed men.

**barbar•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, foreign (to Romans and Greeks), uncivilized; *pl. as noun*: barbarians.

**cōnfert•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [*perf. part. of cōnferciō*, crowd together], dense, thick, compact, stuffed.

**cōnfestim**, *adv.*, hastily, at once, immediately.

**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**co** + **iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.

**in•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go. App. §84], go into; enter upon, begin; **inīre cōnsilium**, form a plan; **inīre ratiōnem**, make an estimate, decide; **inīre grātiām**, gain favor; **inīre numerum**, enumerate.

**nov•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, new, novel; unusual, fresh; **rēs novae**, a change of government, revolution; *superl.*: **novissim•us, -a, -um**, latest, last; as *noun or with agmen*, those in the rear, the rear.

**paulō**, *adv.* [**paulus**, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.

**pro•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go forth or forward, proceed, advance.

**stati•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**stō**, stand], standing; sentries, outposts; **in statīōne esse**, be on guard.

**sub•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus** [**sequor**, follow], follow closely.

**suc•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go or come under; come up to, come up, advance, be next to; succeed, take the place of; succeed, prosper.

**suspīcor**, 1 [**suspiciō**, suspect], suspect, distrust; surmise.

#### 8. **Caesar id quod erat suspicātus:**

“Caesar, having suspected (in advance) this (thing) which was (happening),” namely, that, etc. The key to understanding the syntax here is to realize that **Caesar** is the subject of **iussit**, that **suspīcātus** modifies **Caesar** as an *adj.*, and that **id**, which is the antecedent of the subordinate clause **quod erat**, is in apposition with the indirect statement that depends on **suspīcātus**.

**8–9. aliquid . . . initum (esse) cōnsilī:** indirect statement dependent on **suspīcātus**, and the clause with which **id** is in apposition. **aliquid novī . . . cōnsilī** = “some new plan”; indef. n. acc. with the partitive gen.; see App. §101.

**9. in statīōnibus:** “on guard duty” in different areas (e.g., at the four gates), hence pl.

**10. reliquās:** supply *cohortēs*.

**10–11. proficiscī . . . succēdere . . . armārī . . . subsequī:** complementary infs. dependent on **iussit**.

**12. prōcessisset:** subjunctive in a temporal clause.

**12–13. suōs . . . premī atque . . . sustinēre et . . . tēla . . . conici:** indirect statement dependent on **animadvertit**. Note that the conj. **atque** binds the two infs. that have **suōs** as their subject, whereas **conici**, which has **tēla** as its subject, is joined to the list with **et**.

**13. cōnfertā legiōne:** “because the legion was crowded together”; abl. absolute; see App. §150. Their crowding made them an easy target for British spears.



- 15 *Nam quod omnī ex reliquīs partibus dēmessō frūmentō pars  
ūna erat reliqua, suspicāti hostēs hūc nostrōs esse ventūrōs  
noctū in silvīs dēlituerant; tum dispersōs dēpositis armīs  
in metendō occupātōs subitō adortī paucīs interfectīs reliquōs  
incertīs ōrdinibus perturbāverant, simul equitātū atque essedis  
circumdederant.*

**ad•orior, -oriri, -ortus sum** [orior, arise],  
rise against, attack.

**circum•dō, -dare, -dedi, -datum** [dō, put],  
put around, encompass, surround.

**dē•litēscō, -litēscere, -litui, —** [latēscō,  
inceptive of lateō, lie hidden], hide  
oneself, lurk.

**dē•metō, -metere, -messui, -messum**  
[metō, reap], mow, reap.

**dē•pōnō, -pōnere, -posui, -positum**  
[pōnō, put], lay down; deposit.

**di•spērgō, -spērgere, -spersi, -spersum**  
[spargō, scatter], scatter, disperse.

**essed•um, -i, n.,** a two-wheeled war chariot  
used by the Britons.

**hūc, adv.** [from hic, this], to this place,  
hither, here; against these, to these.

**incert•us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + certus,  
decided], undecided, uncertain,  
untrustworthy; indefinite; disordered.

**metō, metere, messui, messum, mow,**  
harvest, reap.

**occupō, 1** [ob + capiō, take], take  
possession of, seize; engage.

**pauc•i, -ae, -a, adj.,** few; as noun: few persons  
or things.

**perturbō, 1** [turbō, disturb], disturb  
greatly, throw into confusion; terrify.

**silv•a, -ae, f.,** forest, woods, a wood.

**simul, adv.** at once, at the same time,  
thereupon.

**subitō, adv.** [subitus, sudden], suddenly.

**suspīcor, 1** [suspiciō, suspect], suspect,  
distrust; surmise.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum, come, arrive,**  
go, advance.

**14. omnī . . . frūmentō:** abl. absolute; see  
App. §150.

**15. hūc . . . ventūrōs:** indirect statement  
dependent on *suspiciāti*, which modifies  
*hostēs*, the subject of *dēlituerant*.

**16. dēpositis armīs:** “after they put down  
their weapons”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**16–17. dispersōs . . . occupātōs:** supply  
*eōs* (= *nostrōs*, our men); acc. dir. object of  
*adortī*, a perf. part. in agreement with the

unexpressed subject of *perturbāverant*, i.e.,  
the *hostēs* mentioned earlier.

**17. metendō:** gerund; see App. §§288, 294.

**paucīs interfectīs:** “after a few had been  
killed”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**18. incertīs ōrdinibus:** “because their  
ranks were disordered”; abl. absolute; see  
App. §150.

**19. circumdederant:** supply *reliquōs* as  
the direct object, which has been ellipted.

[4.33] *Genus hoc est ex essedīs pugnae. Prīmō per omnēs partēs perequitant et tēla coniciunt atque ipsō terrōre equōrum et strepitū rotārum ordinēs plērumque perturbant et, cum sē inter equitum turmās insinuāvērunt, ex essedīs dēsiliunt et*  
 5 *pedibus proeliantur.*

**con-iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [co + iaciō, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.

**dē-siliō, -silire, -siluī, -sultum** [saliō, jump], jump from, dismount.

**essed-um, -ī, n.**, a two-wheeled war chariot used by the Britons.

**insinuō**, 1 [sinuō, wind], wind into; make one's way into, penetrate.

**perequitō**, 1 [equitō, ride], ride around, ride about, ride through.

**perturbō**, 1 [turbō, disturb], disturb greatly, throw into confusion; terrify.

**pēs, pedis, m.**, the foot, a foot; **pedibus**, on foot.

**plērumque**, *adv.* [plērusque, the greater part], mostly, generally; very often.

**proelior**, 1 [proelium, battle], join or engage in battle.

**rot-a, -ae, f.**, wheel.

**strepit-us, -ūs, m.** [strepō, make a noise], noise, rattle, uproar.

**terr-or, -ōris, m.** [terreō, frighten], fright, alarm, panic, terror.

**turm-a, -ae, f.**, troop or squadron of about thirty cavalrymen.

**1. ex essedīs:** the prepositional phrase modifies **pugnae**: “fighting from chariots.” The chariots were built for two, a driver and a fighter. The driver would deliver the fighter where he was needed, pull back, and stand ready to rush in again if the fighter needed to escape quickly. The chariots provided speed and mobility.

**2. equōrum:** subjective gen.; see App. §98.

**2–3. terrōre . . . et strepitū:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**3–4. cum . . . insinuāvērunt:** “whenever,” etc.; **cum** with the indicative in a clause of repeated action; see App. §241, *b*.

- Aurigae interim paulātim ex proeliō excēdunt atque ita currūs collocant ut, si illi ā multitūdine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suōs receptum habeant. Ita mōbilitātem equitum, stabilitātem peditum in proeliīs praestant, ac tantum ūsū cotidiānō et
- 10 exercitātiōne efficiunt utī in dēclivī ac praecipiti locō incitātōs equōs sustinēre et brevī moderārī ac flectere et per tēmōnem percurrere et in iugō insistere et sē inde in currūs citissimē recipere cōnsuērint.

**aurig•a, -ae, m.,** charioteer.

**brev•is, -e, adv.,** short, brief, transitory.

**citō, adv.,** quickly, speedily. *Comp.:* **citius;** *superl.:* **citissimē.**

**cotidiān•us, -a, -um, adj. [cotidiē, daily],** daily; customary.

**curr•us, -ūs, m.,** chariot.

**dēcliv•is, -e, adj. [clivus, a slope],** sloping downward, declining; *n. pl. as noun:* slopes.

**ef•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum [faciō, make],** make *or* do completely, complete, construct; cause, render.

**ex•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum [cēdō, go],** go out, go away, withdraw, retire.

**exercitāti•ō, -ōnis, f. [frequentative of exercitō, from exerceō, exercise],** exercise, training, practice, experience.

**expedit•us, -a, -um, adj. [perf. part. of expediō, set free],** unimpeded; without baggage; light-armed.

**flectō, flectere, flexī, flectum,** bend, turn, direct.

**incitō, 1 [citō, put in motion],** set in motion; excite, urge on; exasperate.

**inde, adv.,** from that place; then.

**in•sistō, -sistere, -stiti, — [sistō, stand],** stand upon; stand firm, take a stand.

**iug•um, -ī, n. [iungō, join],** yoke.

**mōbili•tās, -tātis, f. [mōbilis, movable],** activity, speed, mobility.

**moderor, 1 [modus, limit],** manage, govern, control, guide.

**paulātim, adv. [paulus, little],** little by little, by degrees, gradually.

**ped•es, -itis, m. [pēs, foot],** foot soldier; *pl.:* infantry.

**per•currō, -currere, -curri, -cursum [currō, run],** run along *or* over.

**prae•ceps, -cipitis, adj. [caput, head],** headlong; steep, precipitous.

**prae•stō, -stāre, -stiti, -stātum [stō, stand],** stand *or* place before; show, exhibit, supply; be superior, excel, surpass.

**recept•us, -ūs, m. [recipiō, take in],** retreat, refuge; shelter.

**stabili•tās, -tātis, f. [stabilis, firm],** firmness, steadiness.

**tantum, adv. [tantus, so great],** so much, so, so far; only, merely.

**tēm•ō, -ōnis, m.,** pole (*of a wagon*).

7. **sī . . . premantur:** subjunctive in a condition dependent on a subjunctive in a result clause (**ut . . . habeant**); see App. §274. Compare App. §251.

10–13. **utī . . . cōnsuērint:** subjunctive in a clause of result.

11. **brevī (tempore)** abl. of time within which; see App. §152.

13. **cōnsuērint:** contracted forms are common in the perfect.

11–13. **sustinēre et . . . moderārī ac flectere et . . . percurrere et . . . insistere et . . . recipere:** complementary infs. dependent on **cōnsuērint**. POLYSYNDETON; see App. §301, *f.* Note that **ac** joins two infs. as a close pair with **brevī** as their adv.

- [4.34] *Quibus rēbus perturbātis nostrīs, novitāte pugnae, tempore opportūnissimō Caesar auxilium tulit: namque eius adventū hostēs cōstitērunt, nostrī sē ex timōre recēpērunt. Quō factō, ad lacessendum hostem et ad committendum proelium*  
 5 *aliēnum esse tempus arbitrātus suō sē locō continuit et brevī tempore intermissō in castra legiōnēs redūxit.*

**aliēnus**, -a, -um, *adj.* [alius, other], of or belonging to another; unfamiliar; unfavorable.

**auxilium**, -i, *n.* [augeō, increase], help; *pl.*, reinforcements.

**brevis**, -e, *adv.*, short, brief, transitory.

**committō**, -mittere, -misi, -missum [mittō, send], join, do; allow; entrust; **proelium committere**, join or begin battle.

**cōstō**, -stāre, -stiti, -stātum [stō, stand], stand firm; stand still; stop.

**intermittō**, -mittere, -misi, -missum [mittō, send], send between; intervene, separate; cease, discontinue; delay, neglect, omit; let pass.

**lacessō**, -ere, -ivi, -itum, arouse, harass, provoke, irritate, attack.

**novitās**, -tātis, *f.* [novus, new], newness; strangeness, novelty.

**opportūnus**, -a, -um, *adj.*, fit, opportune, lucky, suitable; favorable, advantageous.

**perturbō**, 1 [turbō, disturb], disturb greatly, throw into confusion; terrify.

**reducō**, -ducere, -dūxi, -ductum [ducō, lead], lead back; draw back; extend back.

**timor**, -ōris, *m.* [timeō, fear], fear, alarm, dread.

1. **Quibus rēbus** = *et eis rēbus*, i.e., the Britons' way of fighting from chariots; abl. of means; for *conjunctio relativa*; see App. §173, a. **perturbātis nostrīs**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**novitāte pugnae**: in apposition with **rēbus** by way of further explanation (and excuse); abl. of cause; see App. §138. The insertion of this phrase seems awkward, and has led some scholars to reject it.

2. **tempore opportūnissimō**: abl. of time when; see App. §152.

3. **adventū**: abl. of cause; see App. §138. Note that Caesar represents his appearance as changing the whole tide of the battle.

3–4. **Quō factō** = *et eō factō* (*conjunctio relativa*); "and even though (all) this was accomplished" by Caesar's arrival on the scene; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

4. **lacessendum . . . committendum**: gerundives with **ad** to express purpose; see App. §§288, 293.

5. **aliēnum esse tempus**: indirect statement dependent on **arbitrātus**.

**suō . . . locō**: abl. of place where without a prep.; see App. §151, b.

5–6. **brevī . . . intermissō**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

*Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupātis quī erant in agris  
reliquī discesserunt. Secūtae sunt continuōs complūrēs diēs  
tempestātēs, quae et nostrōs in castris continērent et hostem ā*  
10 *pugnā prohibērent.*

**complūrēs, -a, adj.** [**plūs**, more], several, many; a great many.

**continu-us, -a, -um, adj.** [**contineō**, hold together], holding together, unbroken, uninterrupted, continuous.

**occupō**, 1 [**ob** + **capio**, take], take possession of, seize; engage.

**prohibeō**, 2 [**habeō**, hold], keep from, prevent, prohibit; keep out *or* away from; guard.

**sequor, sequi, secūtus sum**, follow; accompany; follow *in point of time*.

**tempes-tās, -tātis, f.** [**tempus**, time], time, season; weather, storm.

**7. Dum haec geruntur:** “while these things occur,” i.e., “meanwhile.”

**nostris . . . occupātis:** abl. absolute; see App. §150. Caesar’s men have been very busy with ship repair, foraging, guard duty, and fighting.

**quī:** if one construes **reliquī** as part of the subordinate clause, the antecedent is an ellipted *eī*, subject of **discesserunt**. On the other hand, we may also construe **reliquī** as the subject of **discesserunt**, and thus the antecedent of **quī**.

**8. reliquī:** “the remaining men.” Were these men *Rōmānī* who were still in the fields after having been caught by surprise or *hostēs* who left because the Romans retreated into their camp? *Hostēs* are more likely as **reliquī** (“the rest of them”) stands in contrast with **nostris** (“our men”).

**9–10. quae . . . prohibērent:** rel. clause of characteristic equivalent to a clause of result; see App. §230, *a*.

**10. pugnā:** abl. of separation; see App. §134.

*Interim barbari nūntiōs in omnēs partēs dīmīsērunt  
 paucitātemque nostrōrum militum suis praedicāvērunt et  
 quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandī  
 facultās darētur, sī Rōmānōs castris expulissent,  
 15 dēmōnstrāvērunt. Hīs rēbus celeriter magnā multitudine  
 peditātus equitātusque coāctā ad castra vēnērunt.*

**barbar-us, -a, -um, adj.**, foreign (to Romans and Greeks), uncivilized; *pl. as noun*: barbarians.

**celeriter, adv.** [**celer**, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp.*: **celerius**; *superl.*: **celerrimē** (App. §40).

**dēmōnstrō, 1** [**mōnstrō**, show], point out, explain, describe; declare.

**dī-mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send away, dismiss; break up; let go, let pass, give up.

**ex-pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], drive out, drive forth, expel.

**facul-tās, -tātis, f.** [**facilis**, easy], power; opportunity; resources.

**liberō, 1** [**liber**, free], make or set free, release, deliver.

**nūntius, -ī, m.**, messenger; message, news, report.

**pauci-tās, -tātis, f.** [**paucus**, few], fewness, small number.

**peditāt-us, -ūs, m.** [**pedes**, foot soldier], foot soldiers, infantry.

**perpetu-us, -a, -um, adj.**, continuous; *n. as noun in the phrase in perpetuum*, forever.

**praed-a, -ae, f.**, booty, plunder, spoil.

**prae-dicō, 1** [**dicō**, proclaim], proclaim publicly or before others; declare, report, tell of.

**veniō, venire, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

**12. suis**: “their people”; i.e., their fellow Britons.

**13–14. quanta . . . facultās darētur**: subjunctive in an indirect question; see App. §262. This clause represents the apodosis (or conclusion) of a condition in direct statement. The sequence is secondary (past) after **praedicāvērunt**.

**praedae faciendae . . . sui liberandī facultās**: gerundive in the gen. to express purpose; see App. §§288, 291.

**14. sī Rōmānōs castris expulissent**: this protasis (if-clause) of a fut. condition appears within an indirect question in secondary sequence after **praedicāvērunt**. The original condition would have been something like: *tanta . . . facultās dabitur, sī Rōmānōs . . . expulerimus* (future more vivid). In other

words, “such a great opportunity . . . will exist, if we expel the Romans . . .” (note that in American English we use the pres. tense to represent something that will be completed before some other action in the future; Latin uses the fut. perf.). In secondary sequence this becomes (in American English): “they proclaimed what a great opportunity would exist, if they expelled the Romans.” “Will” becomes “would” and “expel” becomes “expelled.” In Latin, further complications arise from a greater sensitivity to tense combined with robust rules for the use of the subjunctive.

**15. Hīs rēbus**: “by means of these speeches.”

**15–16. magnā . . . coāctā**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

- [4.35] *Caesar, etsi idem quod superiōribus diēbus acciderat fore vidēbat, ut, si essent hostēs pulsī, celeritāte periculum effugerent, tamen nactus equitēs circiter XXX, quōs Commius Atrebās, dē quō ante dictum est, sēcum trānsportāverat, legiōnēs in aciē*  
 5 *prō castris cōstituit. Commissō proeliō diūtius nostrōrum mīlitum impetum hostēs ferre nōn potuērunt ac terga vertērunt.*

**aciēs, -ēi** (old gen. **aciē**), *f.*, battle line.

**Atre-bās, -bātis, m.**, an Atrebatian; *pl.* the Atrebates.

**com-mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], join; do; allow; entrust; **proelium committere**, join or begin battle.

**Com-mius, -mī, m.**, Commius, *a leader of the Atrebates. He was loyal to Caesar until 52 BCE when he led troops in support of the general Gallic revolt.*

**diū, adv.**, for a long time; **diūtius**, longer, too long, very long.

**ef-fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, —** [**fugiō**, flee], flee from, run away, escape.

**etsi, conj.** [**et + si**, if], even if, although.

**impet-us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.

**nanciscor, nanciscī, nactus sum**, get, obtain possession of; meet with, find.

**pellō, pellere, pepuli, pulsum**, defeat, rout.

**trānsportō, 1** [**portō**, carry], carry across or over, bring over, convey, transport.

**terg-um, -ī, n.**, the back; **terga vertere**, to flee; **post tergum** or **ab tergō**, in the rear.

**vertō, vertere, vertī, versum**, turn, turn around; **terga vertere**, flee.

**XXX**, sign for **trigintā**, thirty (see also App. §47).

**1–5. Caesar . . . cōstituit:** before we find out that “Caesar decided” to draw up his legions in battle formation in front of the camp, we encounter all the complications that factored into this decision. The placement of the subject at the beginning of the sentence and the main verb at the end is dramatic. Separating words that belong together is called **HYPERBATON**; see App. §301, *f.*

**1. idem . . . fore** = *idem . . . futurum esse*; “the same thing would happen”; indirect statement dependent on **vidēbat**.

**2. ut . . . effugerent:** a clause of result in apposition with **idem** to explain what that “same thing” was.

**si essent . . . pulsī:** plupf. subjunctive in an if-clause dependent on a subjunctive in

a result clause in secondary sequence. This represents indirectly in the past what, in the present, would have been a future more vivid condition in Caesar’s direct thought, something like: *si erunt . . . pulsī, . . . effugient* or “if they are routed, they will escape.”

**3. equitēs:** cavalry were essential for pursuing the enemy in retreat. The cavalry could chase them, and kill them, while they were disorganized. Otherwise, they could run away, regroup, and return for another battle.

**3–4. quōs . . . trānsportāverat:** Commius had been sent with his own squad of cavalry ahead of the main force.

**5. Commissō proeliō:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

*Quōs tantō spatiō secūtī quantum cursū et vīribus efficere  
potuērunt, complūrēs ex eīs occidērunt, deinde omnibus longē  
lātēque aedificiīs incēnsīs sē in castra recēpērunt.*

[4.36.1] *Eōdem diē lēgātī ab hostibus missī ad Caesarem dē pāce  
vērērunt.*

**aedifi•cium, -cī, n.** [aedificiō, build],  
building, house.

**complūr•ēs, -a, adj.** [plūs, more], several,  
many; a great many.

**curs•us, -ūs, m.** [currō, run], speed;  
course; voyage.

**deinde, adv.** [dē + inde, from there, thence],  
then, next, after this, thereupon.

**ef•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [faciō,  
make], make or do completely, complete,  
construct; cause, render.

**in•cendō, -cendere, -cendī, -cēsum, set**  
fire to, burn; inflame, excite.

**lātē, adv.** [lātus, wide], widely, extensively;  
**longō lātēque**, far and wide.

**oc•cidō, -cidere, -cisi, -cisum** [caedō, cut],  
cut down, kill.

**pāx, pācis, f.**, peace treaty, truce, peace,  
favor.

**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum**, follow, pursue;  
accompany.

**spat•ium, -ī, n.**, space, distance; period or  
length of time.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive,  
go, advance.

7. **Quōs** = *et eōs*.

**cursū et vīribus**: abl. of means; see App.  
§143.

7–8. **tantō spatiō . . . quantum . . . effi-  
cere potuērunt**: “for as great a distance as  
they could accomplish . . .”; abl. of the route

or way (i.e., the means); see App. §144: more  
literally, “by or along so great a distance,” etc.

8–9. **omnibus . . . incēnsīs**: abl. absolute;  
see App. §150.

4.36.1 **Eōdem diē**: “on the very same day”;  
abl. of time when; see App. §152.



### ***What Caesar Accomplished in Britain***

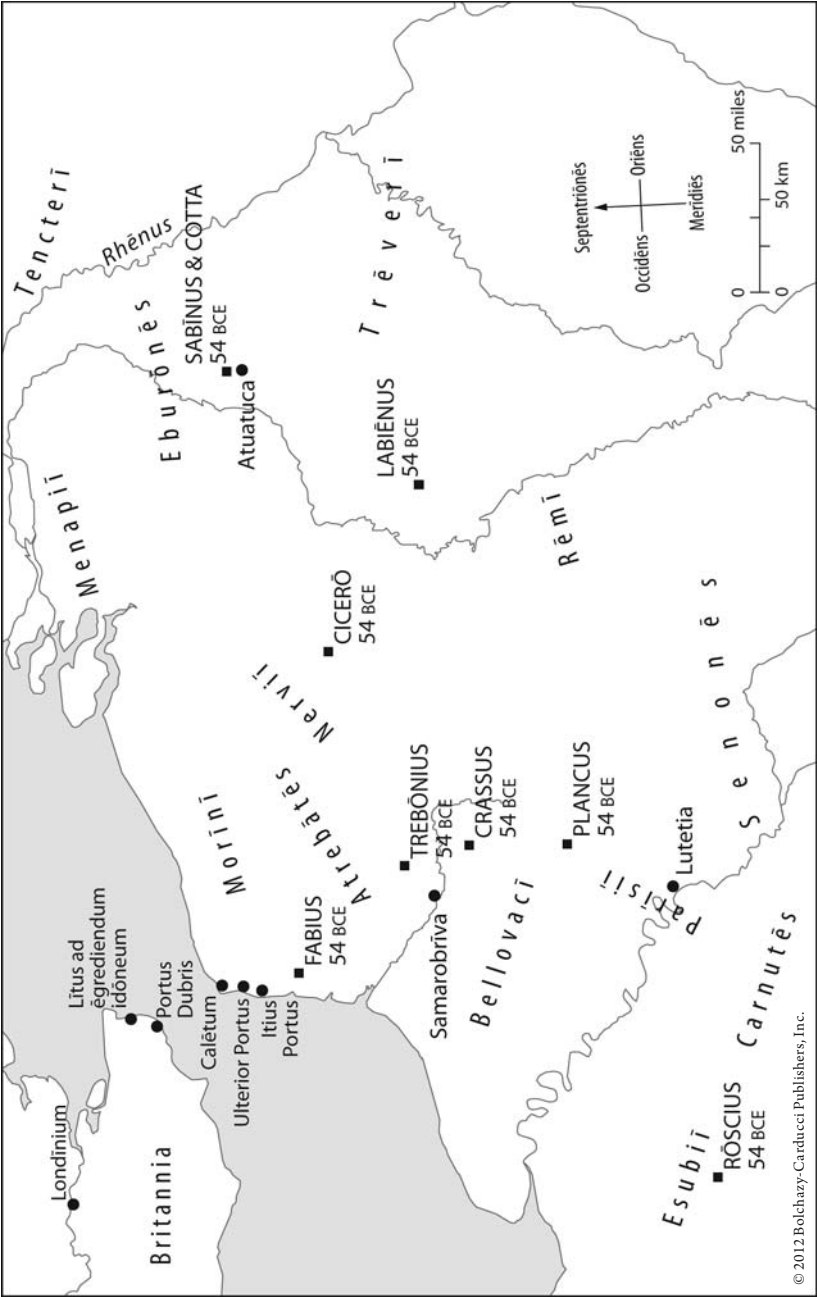
Caesar's show of force and strength convinced the British leaders to return to negotiations. Caesar doubles the number of hostages that the Britons are required to submit, and good weather soon permits him to depart from Britain in the ships that his men were able to salvage. Caesar thus conveys his men to winter quarters on the mainland with his dignity and military reputation intact. In fact, the report that Caesar submitted about this expedition led the Senate to decree twenty days of public prayer in thanks to the gods (a *supplicātiō*). As students of Caesar's narrative and rhetorical style, we have some insight into why the Senate may have reacted so favorably to what they read and heard.

C. IVLI CAESARIS  
COMMENTARIORUM  
DE BELLO GALLICO  
LIBER QUINTUS

*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 5.24–5.48:*  
*The Revolt of the Belgic Tribes*

**D**espite the difficulties Caesar experienced in his first expedition to Britain, because his conquest of Gaul seemed secure, Caesar decided to attempt a second expedition to Britain the next summer in 54 BCE. Again, Caesar experienced some military success before he returned to the mainland toward the end of the summer campaigning season. He then sent the men to their winter quarters, and this is when trouble began. Because of a drought (and thus a smaller than usual harvest), he has to spread the army out over a larger geographical area. Because it is divided into smaller units, the Roman army appears more vulnerable to the native inhabitants, and the Belgic tribes in northeastern Gaul decide to take advantage of the opportunity to revolt. In the passages that follow, you will read about Caesar's ultimately successful operations to suppress this revolt against Roman rule. Although most of the action takes place while Caesar is not present, Caesar remains a force throughout the narrative, on the one hand, of course, because he tells the story, but, even if we put that obvious fact aside, Caesar is mentioned frequently. Ambiorix, a leader of the Eburones, leads an attack on the winter quarters commanded by Quintus Titurius Sabinus and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, after which he promises them safe passage from his people's territory. Ambiorix's speech is part of an elaborate plan to lure the Romans into an ambush, but Caesar puts praises of Caesar into Ambiorix's speech. Caesar also inserts knowing and disparaging remarks about Sabinus into

WINTER QUARTERS



the narrative, so that readers will blame not Caesar, but Caesar's lieutenants, for the disaster. The conduct of Sabinus and Cotta is also compared unfavorably with the conduct of the lieutenant Quintus Tullius Cicero, when Ambiorix tries the same trick at his camp. Finally, we see Caesar rush to rescue Cicero's camp after Caesar gets word of the attacks on winter quarters. Even military setbacks contribute—at least in Caesar's narrative—to a portrait of Caesar as the consummate military leader. And, in the end, Caesar did reestablish military control.

## *Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 5.24–5.48:* *The Revolt of the Belgic Tribes*

[5.24] Subductis nāvibus conciliōque Gallōrum Samarobrīvae  
perāctō, quod eō annō frūmentum in Galliā propter siccitātēs  
angustius prōvēnerat, coāctus est aliter ac superiōribus annīs  
exercitum in hibernīs collocāre legiōnēsque in plūrēs civitātēs  
5 distribuere. Ex quibus ūnam in Morinōs dūcendam Gāiō Fabiō  
lēgātō dedit, alteram in Nervios Quīntō Cicerōnī, tertiam in  
Esubiōs Lūciō Rosciō; quārtam in Rēmīs cum Titō Labiēnō

**aliter**, *adv.* [alius, other], otherwise; **aliter**  
... **ac**, otherwise ... than.

**angust-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, [angō, squeeze],  
compressed, narrow.

**concil-ium, -i**, *n.*, assembly, gathering,  
council.

**dis-tribuō, -tribuere, -tribui, -tribūtum**  
[tribuō, assign], assign, divide.

**Esubi-i, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Esubii, a people in  
northwestern Gaul.

**Gā-i-us, -i**, *m.*; **Fab-i-us, -i**, *m.* Gaius Fabius,  
one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Lūci-us, -i**, *m.*; **Rōsc-i-us, -i**, *m.*, Lucius  
Roscius, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Morin-i, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Morini. A Belgic  
people on the seacoast.

**per-agō, -agere, -ēgi, -āctum** [agō, lead],  
lead through; complete, finish.

**propter**, *prep.* with *acc.* [prope, near], on  
account of, because of.

**prō-veniō, -venire, -vēni, -ventum** [veniō,  
come], come forth, grow.

**quārt-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, *ord. num.* [quattuor,  
four], fourth.

**Quīnt-us, -i**, *m.*; **Cicer-ō, -ōnis**, *m.*,  
Quintus Tullius Cicero, brother of the  
more famous orator and consul of 63 BCE,  
Marcus Tullius Cicero. Quintus served as  
one of Caesar's legates.

**Rēm-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, belonging to or one  
of the Remi; *pl. as noun*, **Rēmī**, *m.*, the  
Remi, a Belgic people along the Axona  
(Aisne) whose main city was Durocortorum  
(now Reims).

**Samarobrīv-a, -ae**, *f.*, Samarobriua (now  
Amiens), a city belonging to the Ambiani  
on the river Samara (Somme).

**sicci-tās, -tātis**, *f.* [siccus, dry], drought.

**sub-dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxi, -ductum** [dūcō,  
lead], draw up; with *nāvēs*, beach.

**Tit-us, -i**, *m.*; **Labiēn-us, -i**, *m.*, Titus Atius  
Labienus, Caesar's most trusted lieutenant  
in the Gallic War.

1–2. **Subductis nāvibus conciliōque** ...  
**perāctō**: *abl. absolutes*; see App. §150.

1. **conciliō**: Caesar routinely called assemblies and compelled Gallic leaders to attend. Caesar used these meetings to requisition cavalry and supplies from the various tribes as well as to gather information and to gauge the general mood among the Gauls. In light of subsequent events, we may note that, despite appearances, the conquest of Gaul was, from the perspective of the Gauls themselves, not yet a “done deal.” They soon rose in revolt.

2–3. **annō** ... **annis**: *abl. of time*; see App. §152.

5. **Ex quibus ūnam** = **Ex quibus quattuor legiōnibus ūnam legiōnem**; *ELLIPSIS*, see App. §301, c.

**dūcendam**: the *fut. pass. part.* agrees with **ūnam** (*legiōnem*), the direct object of **dedit**, to express purpose; see App. §285, II, b. The next two clauses will ellipt part. and verb as well.

7–8. **quārtam** ... **hiemāre iussit**: Caesar shifts construction; **quārtam legiōnem** is the *acc. subject* of the complementary inf. **hiemāre**. See App. §277.

- 10 *in cōfiniō Trēverōrum hiemāre iussit. Trēs in Bellovacīs collocāvit: hīs Marcum Crassum quaestōrem et Lūcium Munātium Plancum et Gāium Trebōnium lēgātōs praefēcit. Ūnam legiōnem, quam proximē trāns Padum cōscripserat, et cohortēs V in Eburōnēs, quōrum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhēnum, quī sub imperiō Ambiorīgis et Catuvolci erant, mīsīt.*

**Bellovac•i, -ōrum, m.,** the Bellovaci (a Belgic people).

**Catuvolc•us, -i, m.,** Catuvolcus, a leader among the the Eburones who eventually poisons himself when things go badly for him.

**cōfin•ium, -i, n.** [finis, boundary], common boundary, neighborhood.

**cōn•scribō, -scribere, -scripsi, -scriptum** [scribō, write], enroll, enlist.

**Eburōn•ēs, -um, m.,** the Eburones, a Belgic people who in 54 BCE destroyed troops under the command of Sabinus and Cotta. Afterwards, Caesar almost exterminated them.

**Gā•ius, -i, m.; Trebōn•ius, -i, m.,** Gaius Trebonius, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**hiemō, 1** [hiems, winter], pass the winter, winter.

**imper•ium, -i, n.** [imperō, order], right to command; authority; jurisdiction; supreme, highest official power.

**Lūci•us, -i, m.; Munāt•ius, -i, m.; Planc•us, -i, m.,** Lucius Munatius Plancus, a lieutenant of Caesar.

**Marc•us, -i, m.; Crass•us, -i, m.,** Marcus Licinius Crassus, son of Caesar's powerful ally, served as one of Caesar's quaestors after his brother Publius left Gaul.

**Mos•a, -ae, m.,** the river Mosa, now called the Meuse or the Maas.

**Pad•us, -i, m.,** the Padus river, the Po, the biggest river in northern Italy.

**prae•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [faciō, make], make before, put in command of.

**proximē, adv.** [proximus, last], last; lately, recently.

**quaest•or, -ōris, m.** [quaerō, seek], a quaestor; (1) at Rome, an annually elected official in charge of state revenues; (2) in the Roman army, a quartermaster in charge of money and supplies, and sometimes employed in commanding troops.

**sub, prep. with abl.,** under, beneath.

**trāns, prep. with acc.,** across, beyond, over.

**Trev•ir, -erī, m.,** one of the Treveri; pl.

**Treveri,** the Treveri, a Belgic people near the Rhine.

**V, sign for quinque,** five (for ord. and distributive numbers, see App. §47).

**8. Trēs = Trēs legiōnēs.**

**9. hīs = hīs legiōnibus.** Dat. indirect object with a compound verb; see App. §116.

**quaestōrem:** in apposition with Crassus; see App. §95, b.

**10. lēgātōs:** in apposition with Munatius Plancus and Trebonius; see App. §95, b.

**11. proximē:** Caesar lets us know that these are new recruits.

**trāns Padum:** from the perspective of Rome, Cisalpine Gaul in northern Italy was on the “other side” of the Po River.

**12. cohortēs:** it is not clear to which legion these five cohorts belonged. Some scholars argue that Caesar wants us to know that he sent some experienced soldiers along with the new legion.

- 15 *Hīs militibus* Quīntum Titūrium Sabīnum et Lucium Aurunculēium Cottam *lēgātōs* praeesse iussit. *Ad hunc* modum distribūtis *legiōnibus* *facillimē* inopiae frūmentāriae sēsē medērī posse exīstimāvit. *Atque hārum tamen omnium legiōnum hiberna* praeter *eam, quam* Lūciō Rōsciō in pācātissimam et quiētissimam
- 20 *partem dūcendam* dederat, milibus passuum centum continēbantur. *Ipse* intereā, quoad *legiōnēs collocātās* mūnitaque hiberna cognōvisset, in Galliā morārī cōstituīt.

**centum**, (C.), indecl. card. num., one hundred.

**dis•tribuō, -tribuere, -tribui, -tributum** [tribuō, assign], assign, divide, distribute. **frūmentāri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [frūmentum, grain], of or pertaining to grain.

**inopi•a, -ae, f.** [inops, needy], need, lack, poverty; lack of provisions, hunger.

**intereā, adv.**, in the meantime, meanwhile.

**Lūci•us, -i, m.; Aurunculēi•us, -i, m.;**

**Cott•a, -ae, m.**, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Lūci•us, -i, m.; Rōsc•ius, -i, m.**, Lucius Roscius, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**medeor, medērī, —**, cure, remedy.

**mod•us, -i, m.**, measure, quantity, size; manner, method; **ad hunc modum**, in this way.

**moror**, 1 [mora, a delay], delay, hinder; linger, hang back.

**mūniō**, 4, defend with a wall, fortify.

**pācō**, 1 [pāx, peace], subdue, pacify;

**pācātus**, perf. part. as adj.: peaceful.

**prae•sum, -esse, -fui, —** [sum, be. App. §77], be before or over, be in command of, rule over, be at the head of.

**praeter**, prep. with acc. [prae, before], before; past; except.

**quiēt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, in repose, undisturbed, peaceful, calm, quiet.

**Quīnt•us, -i, m.; Titūr•ius, -i, m.;**

**Sabīn•us, -i, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**quoad**, adv. [quō, where? + ad, to], to where; as long as, as far as; till, until.

**15. militibus:** dat. indirect object with a compound verb; see App. §116.

**15–16. Titūrium Sabīnum et . . . Aurunculēium Cottam:** Caesar introduces the lieutenants who are responsible for the safety of the soldiers entrusted to them, and who will, in the narrative that follows, bear blame for the disaster.

**17. distribūtis legiōnibus:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**inopiae frūmentāriae:** dat. with an intransitive verb **medērī**; see App. §115.

**18. hiberna:** nom. subject of the verb **continēbantur**.

**19. eam = eam legiōnem.**

**20. milibus . . . centum:** “within one hundred miles” of one another. This may have been an underestimate.

**21. Ipse = Caesar Ipse.**

**collocātās mūnitaque = collocātās esse mūnitaque esse;** infs. in indirect statement dependent on **cognōvisset**.

**22. cognōvisset:** subjunctive in a temporal clause; see App. §234.

**morārī:** Caesar tells us that he decided to stay in Gaul until his men were safely in their winter quarters because, as it turned out, they soon came under deadly attack. Caesar thus anticipates and neutralizes potential accusations that his generalship put Roman soldiers in harm's way.

- [5.25] *Erat in Carnutibus summō locō nātus Tasgetius, cuius maiōrēs in suā civitatē rēgnū obtinuerant. Huic Caesar prō eius virtūte atque in sē benevolentīā, quod in omnibus bellīs singulārī eius operā fuerat ūsus, maiōrum locum restituerat. Tertium iam*  
 5 *hunc annum rēgnantem inimicī multīs palam ex civitatē auctōribus interfēcērunt. Dēfertur ea rēs ad Caesarem.*

**auctor, -is, m.** [augeō, increase], one who produces, creates, or originates; promoter, instigator, advisor, author.

**benevolentīa, -ae, f.** [bene, well + volō, wish], goodwill, kindness.

**Carnut-ēs, -um, m.,** the Carnutes (a people in central Gaul).

**dē-ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [ferō, carry.

App. §81], carry, take; report; confer.

**iam, adv.,** now; already, at last; indeed, even.

**inimīc-us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + amīcus, friendly], unfriendly, hostile; as a noun: personal enemy; as opposed to **hostis**, public enemy.

**maior, maius, adj.** [comp. of **magnus**, large], larger; older; as noun: **maiōres**, ancestors.

**nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum,** be born, be produced; rise, spring up, be raised; be found.

**ob-tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum** [teneō, hold], hold, retain, possess, maintain; acquire.

**oper-a, -ae, f.** [opus, work], work, exertion; service; pains, attention.

**palam, adv.,** openly, publicly.

**rēgnō, 1** [rēgnū, royal power], reign, rule.

**re-stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitūtum** [re + statuō, set up], set up again, rebuild, renew, restore.

**singulār-is, -e, adj.** [singulī, one each], one at a time; single; remarkable.

**Tasget-ius, -ī, m.,** Tasgetius, a leader among the Carnutes.

**1. summō locō:** “highest rank”; abl. of source or origin; see App. §135.

**3. in sē:** to use a prepositional phrase to modify a noun is not common in classical Latin, but, as this phrase demonstrates, not impossible.

**4. operā:** abl. with a special deponent verb; see App. §145,

**maiōrum locum:** Caesar had restored Tasgetius to the supreme authority his ancestors had held, but apparently lost. Why? Because Tasgetius was useful to Caesar. Note how Caesar feels that it is his right to dictate to the tribes who their leaders will be. Could this be perhaps one source of their unhappiness with Roman rule?

**4–5. Tertium . . . annum:** acc. of extent of time; see App. §130.

**5. hunc** = Tasgetius.

**rēgnantem:** Latin uses a part. where we would use a subordinate clause. Although a pres. part., **rēgnantem** should be translated as “who was ruling,” because we translate in reference to the tense of the main verb. See App. §205.

**5–6. multīs . . . auctōribus:** abl. absolute; see App. §150. Note the numbers and the openness of the assassination. Tasgetius was unpopular among his own people.



10 *Ille veritus, quod ad plūrēs pertinēbat, nē civitās eōrum impulsū dēficeret, Lūcium Plancum cum legiōne ex Belgiō celeriter in Carnutēs proficīscī iubet ibique hiemāre quōrumque operā cognōverat Tasgetium interfectum, hōs comprehēnsōs ad sē mittere. Interim ab omnibus lēgātīs quaestōribusque, quibus legiōnēs trādiderat, certior factus est in hiberna perventum locumque hibernīs esse mūnītum.*

**Belg-ium, -gī, n.,** the territory belonging to the Belgae.

**Carnut-ēs, -um, m.,** the Carnutes (a people in central Gaul).

**celeriter, adv.** [celer, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp., celerius; superl., celerrimē* (App. §40).

**com-prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [prehendō (= prendō), seize], lay hold of, seize, arrest.

**dē-ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [faciō, make], fail, desert, fall away, revolt.

**hiemō, 1** [hiems, winter], pass the winter, winter.

**ibi, adv.,** there, in that place.

**impuls-us, -ūs, m.** [impellō, impel], impulse, instigation.

**Lūci-us, -ī, m.; Planc-us, -ī, m.,** Lucius Munatius Plancus, a lieutenant of Caesar.

**mūniō, 4,** defend with a wall, fortify.

**oper-a, -ae, f.** [opus, work], work, exertion; service; pains, attention; **dare operam,** give attention, take pains.

**quaest-or, -ōris, m.** [quaerō, seek], a quaestor.

**Tasget-ius, -ī, m.,** Tasgetius, a leader among the Carnutes.

**trā-dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [trāns + dō, give], give over; entrust; teach.

**vereor, verērī, veritus sum,** revere; fear, dread, be afraid of.

**7. plūrēs:** “a large number of people” because the assassination took place openly and involved many conspirators.

**impulsū:** abl. of cause; see App. §138.

**7–8. veritus . . . nē . . . dēficeret:** subjunctive in a fear clause; see App. §228, 6.

**9. quōrum:** the rel. anticipates its antecedent hōs.

**10. interfectum (esse):** perf. inf. in indirect statement dependent on cognōverat.

**comprehēnsōs:** “after they had been rounded up and arrested”; the perf. part. is equivalent here to a subordinate clause; see App. §283.

**11. mittere:** complementary inf. dependent on iubet; see App. §275.

**12. perventum:** perf. inf. (with esse omitted) in indirect statement dependent on certior factus est (Caesar). In direct speech, “perventum est” is impers., hence the lack of an acc. subject here.

**13. hibernīs:** dat. of purpose or reference; see App. §§119–120. Some editors delete the word as unnecessary.

**mūnītum:** this narrative is heading toward disaster. Note how carefully Caesar informs his readers that he, Caesar, had taken all due precautions. Will this help deflect blame from Caesar to his subordinates?

- [5.26] *Diēbus circiter XV, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentīni tumultūs ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorīge et Catuvolcō; quī, cum ad finēs rēgnī suī Sabinō Cottaque praestō fuissent frumentumque in hiberna*  
 5 *comportāvissent, Indutiomārī Trēverī nūntiis impulsī suōs concitāverunt subitōque oppressis lignātōribus magnā manū ad castra oppugnātum vēnerunt.*

**Catuvolc•us, -ī, m.,** Catuvolcus, a leader among the the Eburones who eventually poisons himself when things go badly for him.

**comportō, 1** [**portō**, carry], carry together, collect, bring.

**concitō, 1** [**citō**, put in motion], stir up, rouse, instigate, incite.

**defecti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**dēficiō**, fail], falling away, desertion, revolt.

**im•pellō, -pellere, -puli, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], drive or urge on, incite, instigate, impel.

**Indutiomār•us, -ī, m.,** Indutiomarus, a leader of the Treveri, rival to Cingetorix, and hostile to Caesar.

**init•ium, -ī, n.** [**ineō**, go into], beginning, commencement, origin; edge of a country, borders.

**lignāt•or, -oris, m.** [**lignum**, wood], one sent to gather wood, wood-forager.

**nūntius, -ī, m.,** messenger; message, news, report.

**op•primō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus** [**ob** + **premō**, press], press down, oppress; destroy; surprise.

**oppugnō, 1** [**ob** + **pugnō**, fight], fight against, attack, besiege.

**orior, orīrī, ortus sum,** arise, begin, spring up; be born, descend.

**praestō, adv.,** at hand, ready; with **sum**, meet.

**repentīn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**repēns**, sudden], sudden, unexpected, hasty.

**Sabin•us, -ī, m.,** Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**subitō, adv.** [**subitus**, sudden], suddenly.

**Trēv•ir, -erī, m.,** one of the Treveri; *pl.*

**Trēverī,** the Treveri, a Belgic people near the Rhine.

**tumult•us, -ūs, m.** [**tumeō**, swell], uproar, confusion, disorder, tumult; uprising, insurrection.

**veniō, venire, vēnī, ventum,** come, arrive, go, advance.

**XV, sign for quindecim,** fifteen (see also App. §47).

**1. Diēbus circiter XV, quibus:** “within about fifteen days, during which . . .,” i.e., “about fifteen days, after . . .”; abl. of time, see App. §152.

**3. Ambiorīge et Catuvolcō:** “Ambiorix and Catuvolcus” were leaders of a nearby tribe, the Eburones, and were thus responsible for providing Caesar's occupying army with supplies for the winter.

**3–4. Sabinō Cottaque:** When we first meet Caesar's lieutenants in action, they have just completed the duty of meeting with

local leaders to ensure sufficient supplies for the winter.

**5. Indutiomārī Trēverī nūntiis:** “Indutiomarus the Treveran's messages” must have been convincing, as Ambiorix and Catuvolcus immediately stopped assisting the Romans, and instead attacked them.

**6. magnā manū:** abl. of accompaniment with *cum* omitted; see App. §140.

**7. oppugnātum:** “to attack”; after a verb of motion, the supine is used in the acc. to express purpose; see App. §295.

10 *Cum celeriter nostrī arma cēpissent vāllumque ascendissent atque ūnā ex parte Hispānīs equitibus ēmissis equestrī proeliō superiōrēs fuissent, dēspērātā rē hostēs suōs ab oppugnātiōne redūxērunt. Tum suō mōre conclāmāvērunt, utī aliquī ex nostrīs ad colloquium prōdīret: habēre sēsē, quae dē rē commūnī dicere vellent, quibus rēbus contrōversiās minui posse spērārent.*

**a•scendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēsum**

[ad + scandō, climb], climb up, ascend, mount, climb.

**celeriter, adv.** [celer, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp.*: **celerius**; *superl.*: **celerrimē** (App. §40).

**collo•quium, -quī, n.** [colloquor, talk together], talking together; conference, parley, interview.

**conclāmō, 1** [clāmō, shout], shout out, call aloud, yell.

**dēspērō, 1** [spērō, hope], despair, be hopeless, lack confidence; **dēspērātus, perf. part.**: despaired of; *as adj.*: desperate.

**ē•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [mittō, send], let go, send out *or* forth, release; hurl, discharge; drop.

**eques•ter, -tris, -tre, adj.** [eques,

horseman], *of or* belonging to a horseman, equestrian, of cavalry, cavalry.

**Hispān•us, -a, um, adj.**, Spanish.

**minuō, minuire, minuī, minūtum** [minus, less], lessen, impair, diminish; settle (**contrōversiās**).

**mōs, mōris, m.,** manner, custom, practice.

**prod•eō, -īre, -īi, -itum** [prō + eō, go, App. §84], come forth, go forward.

**re•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead back; draw back; extend back.

**spērō, 1** [spēs, hope], hope, hope for, anticipate.

**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [vāllus, palisade], wall *or* rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**8. nostrī**: “our men.” Caesar gives credit for the quick response not to his lieutenants, Sabinus and Cotta, but to the soldiers.

**8–10. Cum . . . cēpissent . . . ascendissent . . . fuissent**: subjunctive in a causal clause; see App. §§238–239.

**9. Hispānīs equitibus ēmissis**: “after the Spanish cavalry were sent out”; abl. absolute; see App. §150. Who sent the cavalry out? Again, Caesar does not give credit to the local lieutenants.

**10. suōs**: “their men.”

**11. mōre**: abl. of manner; see App. §142, *a*.

**12. utī . . . prōdīret**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command) after **conclāmāvērunt**; see App. §228, *a*.

**aliquī**: nom. sing. subject of **prōdīret**; see App. §62; the adj. is sometimes used for the pron.

**habēre**: inf. in indirect statement dependent on **conclāmāvērunt**; see App. §266.

**13. quibus rēbus**: “by means of which (proposed parley about) matters (of common interest).”

- [5.27] *Mittitur ad eōs colloquendī causā* Gāius Arpinēius, *eques Rōmānus*, familiāris Quīnti Titūrī, et Quīntus Iūnius ex Hispāniā *quīdam*, *quī iam ante missū Caesaris ad Ambiorigem ventitāre cōnsuērat*; *apud quōs Ambiorix ad hunc modum locūtus est: sēsē prō Caesaris in sē beneficiis plūrimū eī cōnfītērī dēbere, quod eius operā stipendiō liberātus esset, quod Aduātucis, finitimis suis, pendere cōnsuēset, quodque eī*

**Aduātuc•ī, -ōrum, m.,** a people in Belgic Gaul and neighbors of the Eburones, the Aduatici.

**benefi•cium, -ci, n.,** [bene, well + faciō, do], benefit, favor, kindness, good deed.

**cōn•fiteor, -fītērī, -fessus sum** [fateor, confess], acknowledge, confess.

**dēbeō, 2** [dē + habeō, have], owe; with inf.: ought, must.

**familiār•is, -e, adj.** [familia, household], personal, private; as noun: intimate friend.

**finitim•us, -a, -um, adj.** [finis, limit], bordering on, neighboring.

**Gā•ius, -ī, m.; Arpinēius, -ī, m.,** Gaius Arpineius, an equestrian in Caesar's army.

**Hispāni•a, -ae, f.,** Hispania, Spain.

**iam, adv.,** now; already, at last; indeed.

**liberō, 1** [liber, free], make or set free; release, deliver.

**loquor, loquī, locūtus sum,** speak, talk, converse.

**miss•us, -ūs, m.** [mittō, send], a sending; missū Caesaris, sent by Caesar.

**mod•us, -ī, m.,** measure; manner, method; ad hunc modum, in this way.

**oper•a, -ae, f.** [opus, work], work; service.

**pendō, pendere, pependi, pēnsū,** weigh, weigh out; weigh out money, pay, pay out.

**Quint•us, -ī, m.; Titūr•ius, -ī, m.,** Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Quint•us, -ī, m.; Iun•ius, -ī, m.,** Quintus Junius, a Spaniard in Caesar's army.

**stipend•ium, -ī, n.,** tax, tribute.

**ventitō, 1** [frequentative of veniō, come], go back and forth, visit.

1. **colloquendī causā:** gerundive with causā to express purpose; see App. §§288, 291.

4. **apud quōs:** "and in the presence of these men," i.e., the envoys, Arpineius and Junius.

5. **locūtus est:** this verb introduces Ambiorix's entire speech, which will be related in indirect statement down to "Hāc ōrātiōne habitā discēdit Ambiorix," i.e., the last sentence before 5.28. Note also that the many subordinate clauses embedded in this speech will thus take the subjunctive; see App. §269.

**prō Caesaris in sē beneficiis:** "in respect of the benefits bestowed by Caesar on himself (i.e., Ambiorix)." Note the force of the subjective gen. Caesar did things for Ambiorix that benefited Ambiorix. See App. §98. Note also that Ambiorix absolves Caesar of blame for the attack. None of what follows will be Caesar's fault.

**sēsē:** acc. subject (referring to Ambiorix) of the inf. cōnfītērī in indirect statement dependent on locūtus est.

5–6. **eī . . . dēbere = sē Caesarī . . . dēbere.** The inf. dēbere depends in indirect statement on cōnfītērī. The proper subject sē, i.e., Ambiorix, has been ellipted because it is easily understood from the emphatic sēsē at the beginning of the clause. "Ambiorix spoke as follows: he confessed that he owed, etc."

6. **eius operā = Caesaris operā.**

7. **quodque eī = quodque Ambiorigī.** If native speakers slavishly followed the grammatical rules we learn in class, we would expect sibi, rather than eī, but, with the insertion of Caesar's name as the agent of the pass. verb, eī makes it clear that Caesar returned the sons to Ambiorix, not to himself.

- 10 *et filius et frātris filius ab Caesare remissī essent, quōs Aduātucī obsidum numerō missōs apud sē in servitūte et catēnīs tenuissent; neque id, quod fēcerit dē oppugnātiōne castrōrum, aut iūdicio aut voluntate suā fēcisse, sed coāctū civitātis, suaeque esse eiusmodi imperia, ut nōn minus habēret iūris in sē multitūdō quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitātī porrō hanc fuisse bellī causam, quod repentinae Gallōrum coniūratiōnī resistere nōn potuerit.*

**Aduātucī**, -ōrum, *m.*, a people in Belgic Gaul and neighbors of the Eburones, the Aduatici.  
**catēn**•a, -ae, *f.*, chain, fetter.  
**coāct**•us, -ūs, *m.* [cōgō, compel], compulsion.  
**coniūrati**•ō, -ōnis, *f.* [coniūrō, swear], a swearing together; plot, conspiracy.  
**eiusmodi**, of such a sort or kind, such.  
**fil**•ius, -ī, *m.*, son.  
**frāt**•er, -ris, *m.*, brother.  
**imper**•ium, -ī, *n.* [imperō, order], right to command; authority; highest official power.  
**iūdic**•ium, -ī, *n.* [iūdex, judge], judicial proceedings, trial; opinion, judgement; **iūdicio**, by design, purposely.  
**iūs, iūris**, *n.*, (human) law, justice; rights; power, authority.

**ob**•ses, -idis, *m. and f.* [obsideō, blockade], hostage; pledge, security.  
**porrō**, *adv.*, farther on; furthermore, then.  
**re**•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum [mittō, send], send or dispatch back, return; release, relax, give up.  
**repentin**•us, -a, -um, *adj.* [repēns, sudden], sudden, unexpected, hasty.  
**re**•sistō, -sistere, -stiti, — [sistō, stand], stand back, remain behind, halt, stand still; withstand, resist, oppose.  
**servit**•ūs, -ūtis, *f.* [servus, slave], slavery, servitude.  
**volun**•tās, -tātis, *f.* [volō, wish], wish; goodwill; consent.

**8. ab Caesare:** the rules tell us to expect *ā* before a consonant, but the manuscripts do not show complete regularity; compare *ab cēteris* in 5.30.

**8–9. Aduātucī . . . apud sē:** within the subordinate clause, *sē* refers to the *Aduātucī*, who are the subject of the verb *tenuissent*.

**9. obsidum numerō missōs:** “(who had been) sent as part of a contingent of hostages.” The part. takes the place of a subordinate clause; see App. §283.

**10. dē oppugnātiōne:** “in regard to the, etc.”

**10–11. iūdicio . . . voluntate . . . coāctū:** abl. of cause; see App. §138.

**11. fēcisse:** again, we have to supply a *sē* (referring to Ambiorix) as the acc. subject of

an inf. in indirect statement dependent on *locūtus est*.

**11–12. sua . . . imperia:** “his commands” or “his authority”; *n. pl. acc.* subject of the inf. *esse* in indirect statement.

**12. ut . . . habēret:** subjunctive in a substantive clause of result; see §229.

**minus . . . iūris:** “less authority”; partitive gen.; see App. §101.

**in sē . . . quam ipse = in Ambiorigem . . . quam Ambiorix.**

**13. Civitātī porrō:** Note the prominent placement of *civitās*, underscored by *porrō*. Having explained why he himself joined the attack, Ambiorix moves on to explain why his people have joined the attack.

**potuerit:** the subject is *civitās*.

- 15 *Id sē facile ex humilitāte suā probāre posse, quod nōn adeō sit imperītus rērum ut suis cōpiīs populū Rōmānū superārī posse cōnfīdat. Sed esse Galliae commūne cōnsilium: omnibus hibernīs Caesaris oppugnandīs hunc esse dictum diem, nē quā legiō alterae legiōnī subsidiō venīre posset. Nōn facile Gallōs Gallīs negāre*  
 20 *potuisse, praesertim cum dē recuperandā commūnī libertāte cōnsilium initum vidērētur.*

**adeō**, *adv.*, to such an extent, so much, so very, so; in fact.

**cōn•fidō**, *-fidere, -fisi-, -fisum* [**fidō**, trust. App. §74], rely on, feel confident, hope.

**humili•tās**, *-tātis*, *f.* [**humilis**, low], humility, lowness; weakness.

**imperīt•us**, *-a, -um*, *adj.* [**in** + **perītus**, experienced], inexperienced, unskilled, ignorant.

**in•eō**, *-ire, -iī, -itum* [**eō**, go. App. §84], go into; **inīre cōnsilium**, form a plan.

**liber•tās**, *-tātis*, *f.* [**liber**, free], freedom, liberty, independence.

**negō**, 1, say no, refuse, say no to.

**oppugnō**, 1 [**ob** + **pugnō**, fight], fight against, attack, besiege.

**praesertim**, *adv.*, particularly, especially.

**probō**, 1 [**probus**, good], approve; demonstrate.

**recuperō**, 1, recover, regain.

**subsidi•um**, *-ī, n.* [**subsideō**, sit near or in reserve], reserve force; help.

**superō**, 1 [**super**, over], be superior to, surpass; conquer, master, overcome.

**venio**, **venīre**, **vēnī**, **ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

**15. sē**: the reflexive refers back to the subject of **locūtus est**, i.e., Ambiorix, and serves as the acc. subject of **posse**.

**probāre**: complementary inf. with **posse**; see App. §175.

**16–17. ut . . . cōnfīdat**: subjunctive in a substantive clause of result; see App. §§226–227.

**17. Galliae . . . cōnsilium**: subjective gen.; see App. §98.

**17–18. omnibus . . . oppugnandīs**: dat. of purpose; see App. §119.

**18. quā**: “any”; see App. §174.

**alterae**: an older form of **alterī**; compare regular forms in App. §32. Caesar also uses **nūllō** for the dat. of **nūllus** in 6.13.1.

**18–19. nē . . . posset**: subjunctive in a clause of purpose; see App. §225.

**19. legiōnī**: dat. of reference; see App. §120.

**subsidiō**: dat. of purpose; see App. §119.

**Gallōs**: acc. subject of **potuisse** in indirect statement.

**Gallis**: dat. indirect object with the sometimes intransitive verb **negāre**; see App. §117.

**20. recuperandā**: gerundive; see App. §§288, 294.

**21. cōnsilium initum (esse) vidērētur**: “a plan appeared to have been formed.”

- Quibus quoniam prō pietāte satisfēcerit, habēre nunc sē  
ratiōnem offici prō beneficiis Caesaris: monēre, orāre  
Titūrium prō hospitio, ut suae ac militum salūtī cōsulat.*  
25 *Magnam manum Germānōrum conductam Rhēnum trānsisse;  
hanc adfore bīduō.*

**adsum, adesse, adfui** [sum, be, App. §77],  
be near, be present, be at hand, appear.  
**beneficiūm, -ci, n.** [bene, well + faciō, do],  
benefit, favor, kindness, good deed.  
**bīduūm, -i, n.** [bis, twice + diēs, day],  
space or period of two days.  
**conducō, -ducere, -dūxi, -ductum** [ducō,  
lead], lead or bring together, assemble,  
conduct; hire.  
**cōsulō, -ere, -uī, -tum**, take counsel,  
consult, consider; with *dat.*: take counsel  
for, consider the interests of, take care  
for; spare.  
**hospitiūm, -i, n.** [hospes, host or guest],  
the reciprocal relationship that exists  
between a host and a guest; friendship,  
hospitality.  
**moneō**, 2, warn, advise, instruct, order.  
**nunc**, *adv.*, now, at present, at this time.  
**officiūm, -i, n.**, allegiance, duty; business.  
**orō**, 1 [ōs, mouth], speak; beseech, entreat.

**pie-tās, -tātis, f.** [pius, loyal], loyalty,  
devotion.  
**quoniam, conj.** [cum (= quom), since +  
iam, now], since now, since, inasmuch as,  
because, whereas.  
**ratiō, -ōnis, f.** [reor, reckon], reckoning,  
account, estimate; design, plan, strategy,  
science; method, arrangement; cause,  
reason; regard, consideration; condition,  
state of affairs; manner, way; condition,  
terms; in *pl.*, transactions.  
**satis-faciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factum** [satis,  
enough + faciō, make], make or do  
enough for; give satisfaction, satisfy;  
make amends, apologize, ask pardon.  
**Titūr-ius, -i, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus,  
one of Caesar's lieutenants.  
**trāns-eō, -ire, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84],  
go across or come over, cross; march  
through, pass through; move, migrate; of  
time, pass by.

**22. Quibus:** *conjunctio relativa*: the rel. is used as a conj., and the phrase is thus equivalent to *et eis* (*Gallis*); see App. §173, *a*. *Dat.* indirect object with the intransitive verb **satisfēcerit**; see App. §117. Now that Ambiorix has satisfied the Gauls, he may thus consider once more what he owes Caesar. Again, Caesar has done everything right.

**sē:** acc. subject (referring to Ambiorix) of the inf. **habēre** in indirect statement after **locūtus est**.

**23. (sē) monēre, (sē) orāre:** the ellipted subject of these inf. (note the *ASYNDETON*; see App. §301, *a*) may be inferred from the previous clause. ON *ELLIPSIS*, see App. §301, *c*.

**24. Titūrium:** acc. direct object of the inf. **monēre, orāre**. Ambiorix lies to Titurius (a.k.a., Sabinus; Caesar uses both names), and

Titurius will be deceived. Caesar carefully steers blame away from himself.

**25. manum:** acc. subject of the inf. **trānsisse**, which takes **Rhēnum** as its direct object. Ambiorix plays the German card, as the Romans feared Germans more than they did Gauls.

**conductam:** “hired,” i.e., *mercēde* (“with pay”), hence “mercenary.” Large, mercenary gangs of Germans did not fight for free. The Romans hired Germans too, of course, and Gauls, we should not forget, fought in the Roman cavalry.

**26. bīduō:** abl. of time within which; see App. §152.

**adfore:** *fore* = *futurus esse*, the fut. active inf. of *esse*.

30 *Ipsōrum esse cōnsilium, velintne priusquam finitimī sentiant  
ēductōs ex hibernīs militēs aut ad Cicerōnem aut ad Labiēnum  
dēducere, quōrum alter mīlia passuum circiter quīnquāgintā,  
alter paulō amplius ab eīs absit. Illud sē pollicērī et iūre iūrandō  
cōfirmāre tūtum iter per finēs datūrum.*

**absūm, abesse, āfui**, — [sum, be. App.

§78], be away, be distant, be lacking.

**amplē**, *adv.* [amplus, large], largely; *comp.*:

**amplius**, more, farther.

**cōfirmō**, 1 [firmō, strengthen], establish,  
strengthen, encourage, console; declare.

**dē•dūcō**, -ducere, -dūxī, -ductum [dūcō,  
lead], lead down; bring, conduct.

**ē•dūcō**, -ducere, -dūxī, -ductum [dūcō,  
lead], lead out, lead forth; draw (*a sword*).

**finitim•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [finis, limit],  
bordering on, neighboring.

**iūs iūrandum**, iūris iūrandī, *n.* [iūs, right +  
iūrō, swear], an oath.

**Labiēn•us**, -ī, *m.*, Titus Atius Labienus,  
*Caesar's most trusted lieutenant in the  
Gallic War. During the Civil War, Labienus*

*fought on Pompey's side, and died in battle  
against Caesar in Munda (in Spain) in 45  
BCE.*

**paulō**, *adv.* [paulus, little], a little,  
somewhat, slightly.

**polliceor**, 2 [prō + liceor, bid, offer], offer,  
promise.

**priusquam** or **prius** . . . **quam**, *conj.*, sooner  
than, before; until.

**quīnquāgintā** (L), *card. num. adj., indecl.*,  
fifty.

**sentiō**, sentire, sēnsī, sēnsū, perceive,  
be aware of, notice, experience, undergo;  
realize, know; decide, judge; sanction,  
adhere to.

**tūt•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [tueor, protect],  
protected, safe, secure.

**27. Ipsōrum** (*Rōmānōrum*) **esse cōn-**  
**silium**: “the most advisable plan is up to  
them” or “theirs to decide”; subjective gen.  
(see App. §98), as the Romans *themselves* will  
have to *consider* what course of action is most  
advisable in this situation. Ambiorix “helpful-  
ly” suggests two possibilities, both of which  
will lead to ambush.

**velintne**: subjunctive in an indirect ques-  
tion (see App. §§262–264) within indirect  
statement (see App. §269).

**28. ēductōs ex hibernīs militēs**: this  
whole phrase serves as the direct object of  
the complementary inf. **dēducere**.

**ad Cicerōnem aut ad Labiēnum**: Caesar  
pointedly names the very lieutenants who  
will not be taken in by such tricks.

**30. eīs**: Titurius and his men.

**Illud**: acc. direct object of the inf.  
**pollicērī** and **cōfirmāre**.

**sē**: acc. subject (referring to Ambiorix) of  
the inf. **pollicērī** and **cōfirmāre** in indi-  
rect statement after **locūtus est**.

**31. datūrum**: fut. inf. with *esse* omitted in  
indirect statement in apposition with **illud**  
to explain what Ambiorix promises. Note  
that the subject of this inf., *sē* (referring to  
Ambiorix), has been ellipted because it can  
be supplied easily from the beginning of the  
sentence.



*Quod cum faciat, et civitatī sēsē cōsulere, quod hibernīs levētur, et Caesarī prō eius meritīs grātiā referre. Hāc ōratiōne habitā discēdit Ambiorīx.*

**cōsul•ō, -ere, -uī, -tum**, take counsel, consult, consider; *with dat.*: take counsel for, consider the interests of, take care for; spare.

**grāti•a, -ae, f.** [**grātus**, pleasing], favor, goodwill, gratitude, esteem, influence, popularity; **grātiās agere**, thank; **grātiā referre**, to return a favor.

**hab•eō, -ēre, -uī, -itum**, have, hold; deliver (*with ōratiōnem*)

**levō, 1** [**levis**, light], lighten, ease, relieve.

**merit•um, -ī, n.** [**mereor**, deserve], service, desert, merit; favor, kindness, benefit.

**ōrāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**ōrō**, speak], a speech, address.

**referō, referre, rettulī, relātum** [**re + ferō**, carry. App. §81], bear, carry back, report; **grātiā referre**, show one's gratitude, make a requital.

**32. Quod cum faciat:** “And, because he (i.e., Ambiorix) does this” or “by doing this.” On the causal use of *cum*, see App. §283.

**Quod** = *et id*; see App. §173, *a*.

**sēsē:** acc. subject (referring to Ambiorix) of the inf. **cōsulere**, and, by way of ellipsis, also of **referre**.

**hibernīs:** abl. of separation; see App. §134.

**33. Caesarī . . . referre:** Caesar keeps his own merits, benefits, and planning before the

reader in his representation of Ambiorix's speech. We are left with the impression that Caesar's actions, whatever may follow, were beyond reproach—even his enemies confess as much!

**Hāc ōratiōne habitā:** the abl. absolute punctuates the conclusion of a rather long speech entirely in indirect statement!

- [5.28] Arpinēius et Iūnius, quae audierunt, ad lēgātōs dēferunt. Illi repentinā rē perturbātī, etsi ab hoste ea dicēbantur, tamen nōn negligenda exīstimābant maximēque hāc rē permovēbantur, quod cīvitatē ignōbilem atque humilem Eburōnum suā sponte populō Rōmānō bellum facere ausam vix erat crēdendum. Itaque ad cōsiliū rem dēferunt magnaue inter eōs exsistit contrōversia.

**Arpinēius**, -ī, *m.*, Gaius Arpineius, an equestrian in Caesar's army.

**aud-eō**, -ēre, **ausus sum** (App. §74), dare, risk, venture.

**audiō**, 4, hear, hear of.

**crēd-eō**, -ere, -idi, -itum, believe; entrust.

**dē-ferō**, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum [ferō, carry. App. §81], carry, take; report; bring before; bestow.

**Eburōn-es**, -um, *m.*, the Eburones, a Belgic people who in 54 BCE destroyed troops under Sabinus and Cotta. Afterward, Caesar almost exterminated them.

**etsi**, *conj.* [et + si, if], even if, although.

**ex-sistō**, -sistere, -stiti, — [sistō, stand], stand or come forth, appear, arise; ensue.

**humil-is**, -e, *adj.* [humus, the ground], on the ground; low, humble, abject, weak.

**ignōbil-is**, -e, *adj.* [in + (g)nōbilis, well-known], unknown, undistinguished.

**itaque**, *conj.* [ita, so], and so, therefore.

**Iūn-ius**, -ī, *m.*, Quintus Junius, a Spaniard who served in Caesar's army.

**maximē**, *superl. adv.* [magnus, large], especially.

**neg-legō**, -legere, -lēxi, -lēctum [neg + legō, choose], not heed, disregard.

**per-moveō**, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum [moveō, move], move thoroughly; incite.

**perturbō**, 1 [turbō, disturb], disturb greatly, throw into confusion; terrify.

**repentin-us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [repēns, sudden], sudden, unexpected, hasty.

**spontis**, *gen. and sponte*, *abl.* (*obs. nom.*

**spōns**), *f.*, of one's own accord, willingly.

**vix**, *adj.*, with difficulty, hardly.

**1. quae**: the implied antecedent, *ea* ("those things"), is omitted.

**audierunt**: indicative because the clause is subordinate to a principal clause in direct statement.

**lēgātōs**: i.e., Sabinus (a.k.a. Titurius) and Cotta (a.k.a. Aurunculeius). How will they handle the situation?

**2. Illi . . . perturbātī** = *legātī*, i.e., Sabinus (a.k.a. Titurius) and Cotta.

**etsi . . . dicēbantur**: Caesar lets us know that the lieutenants are not as bright as Caesar, who, Caesar thus suggests, would not have been taken in by Ambiorix's story.

**2–3. tamen nōn negligenda**: indirect statement dependent on **exīstimābant**. The acc. subject of the pass. periphrastic inf. (with *esse* omitted) must be supplied from the previous clause: *ea*.

**4. sponte**: abl. of manner or accordance; see App. §142, *a*.

**4–5. civitatē . . . ausam**: indirect statement dependent on **erat crēdendum**. Note that Caesar once again omits *esse* from the perf. active inf. of the semi-deponent verb *audeō*.

**6. cōsiliū**: it was customary for Roman leaders, generals, and lieutenants to decide all matters of importance in consultation with colleagues, although the man in charge would bear ultimate responsibility for his choice. Even a father (or head of household) was expected to consult senior family members before exercising his rights as *pater familiās*. The authority figure seeks advice (or counsel) from an advisory group.

- 10 Lūcius Aurunculēius complūrēsque tribūnī militum et primōrum  
 ordinum centuriōnēs nihil temerē agendum neque ex hibernīs  
 iniussū Caesaris discēdendum exīstimābant: quantāsvīs magnās  
 cōpiās etiam Germānōrum sustinērī posse mūnītis hibernīs  
 docēbant: rem esse testimōniō, quod primū hostium impetum  
 multis ultrō vulneribus illātis fortissimē sustinuerint: rē  
 frumentāriā nōn premī; intereā et ex proximīs hibernīs et ā

**ag•ō, -ere, ēgī, actum**, set in motion; do, transact; discuss, speak.

**centuri•ō, -ōnis, m.** [**centum**, hundred], centurion, the commander of the century, a unit corresponding to one-sixtieth of a legion.

**complūr•ēs, -a, adj.** [**plūs**, more], several, many; a great many.

**doceō, docēre, docuī, docitum**, show, teach, instruct, inform.

**fort•is, -e, adj.**, strong, brave.

**frumentāri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**frumentum**, grain], of or pertaining to grain; **rēs frumentāria**, grain supply, provisions.

**impet•us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.

**in•ferō, inferre, intulī, illātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry into, import, inflict, cause, produce; cast into.

**iniussū, abl. of iniussus, -ūs, m.** [**iūbeō**, order], without command or order.

**intereā, adv.**, in the meantime, meanwhile.

**Lūci•us, -ī, m.; Aurunculēi•us, -ī, m.**, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**mūniō, 4**, defend with a wall, fortify.

**quant•usvīs, -avis, -umvīs, adj.** [**quantus**, as great as + **vīs**, you wish], as great (large, much, etc.) as you wish, however great.

**temerē, adv.**, rashly, blindly, without good reason.

**testimōn•ium, -ī, n.** [**testor**, be a witness], testimony, evidence, proof.

**tribūn•us, -ī, m.** [**tribus**, tribe], tribune; **tribūnus plēbis**, at Rome, a magistrate elected by the people voting in tribes, originally to defend the interests of the plebs; **tribūnus militum** or **militāris**, a military tribune.

**ultrō, adv.**, voluntarily; besides, moreover.

**vuln•us, -eris, n.**, a wound.

**7–8. Lūcius . . . centuriōnēs:** Caesar gives us a clear picture of who took part in a military council and the frank discussion and debate that was customary.

**8–9. agendum neque . . . discēdendum:** pass. periphrastic infs. (without *esse*) in indirect statement dependent on **exīstimābant**. The subject of **agendum** (*esse*), **nihil**, may serve as the subject of the impers. **discēdendum** (*esse*) as well, but, in order to translate the phrase into English, it will be best to render the verb actively and its subject as an adv.: “they should by no means depart.”

**10. cōpiās:** acc. subject of **posse** in indirect statement dependent on **docēbant**.

**hibernīs:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**11. rem esse testimōniō** (*id*), **quod:** “the thing for proof was (this, namely) that . . .” or, more idiomatically, “proof of this was the fact that . . .”

**testimōniō:** dat. of purpose; see App. §119.

**13. premī:** this inf. in indirect statement lacks an acc. subject; we may supply *sē* referring back to the main speakers as well as to everyone in the Roman camp.

15 *Caesare conventūra subsidia: postrēmō quid esse levius aut  
turpius, quam auctōre hoste dē summīs rēbus capere cōsilium?*

**auctor, -is, m.** [**augeō**, increase], one who produces, creates, *or* originates; promoter, instigator, advisor, author.

**lev•is, -e, adj.** light (*in weight*), slight; light-minded, silly, fickle, inconstant.

**postrēmō, adv.** [**postrēmus**, last], finally, at last.

**subsid•ium, -ī, n.** [**subsideō**, sit near *or* in reserve], reserve force; help.

**turp•is, -e, adj.**, ugly, unseemly; shameful, disgraceful, dishonorable.

**14. conventūra:** fut. active inf. (with *esse* omitted) in indirect statement dependent on **docēbant**; the acc. subject is **subsidia**.

**14–15. quid esse . . . quam . . . capere:** for the retention of the inf. in a rhetorical question in indirect statement, see App. §268, II.

**15. auctōre hoste:** “on the authority of an enemy”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**summīs rēbus:** “matters of life and death.”

[5.29] *Contrā ea Titūrius sērō factūrōs clāmitābat, cum maiōrēs manūs hostium adiūctis Germānīs convēnissent aut cum aliquid calamitātis in proximīs hibernīs esset acceptum.*

Brevem cōsulendī esse occāsionem. *Caesarem arbitrārī profectum in Ītaliā; neque aliter Carnutēs interficiendī Tasgetī cōsiliū fuisse captūrōs, neque Eburōnēs, sī ille adesset, tantā contēptiōne nostrī ad castra ventūrōs esse.*

**ad-iungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctum**

[iungō, join], attach, join to, unite, add.

**adsum, adesse, adfuī** [sum, be, App.

§77], be near, be present, be at hand, appear.

**aliter, adv.** [alius, other], otherwise.

**brev-is, -e, adv.**, short, brief, transitory.

**calami-tās, -tātis, f.**, disaster, misfortune, defeat.

**Carnut-ēs, -um, m.**, the Carnutes (a people in central Gaul).

**clāmitō**, 1 [frequentative of **clamō**, cry out], cry out repeatedly, exclaim.

**cōsul-ō, -ere, -uī, -tum**, take counsel, consult, consider; with *dat.*: take counsel for.

**contempti-ō, -ōnis, f.** [contemnō, despise], disdain, contempt.

**contrā**, *adv. and prep. with acc.*: (1) *as adv.*: against him or them; on the other hand.

**Eburōn-ēs, -um, m.**, the Eburones, a Belgic people who in 54 BCE destroyed troops under Sabinus and Cotta. Afterward, Caesar almost exterminated them.

**Itali-a, -ae, f.**, Italy, generally Italy below Cisalpine Gaul.

**maior, māius, adj.** [comp. of **magnus**, large], larger.

**occāsi-ō, -ōnis, f.** [occidō, fall, happen], occasion, opportunity.

**sērō**, *adv.*, late, too late.

**Tasget-ius, -ī, m.**, Tasgetius, a leader among the Carnutes.

**Titūr-ius, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, go.

**1. ea**: "these arguments."

**sērō factūrōs**: "that they would be acting too late," i.e., *sē sērō factūrōs esse*; the elliptical acc. subject *sē* refers to everyone involved in the conversation, hence the pl. fut. active inf. dependent on **clāmitābat** in indirect statement.

**clāmitābat**: Titurius (a.k.a. Sabinus) "shouts over and over again." The verbal suffix **-itō** makes verbs freq. Caesar's unflattering portrait of Sabinus suggests that he was not assessing the situation rationally. This verb of speaking (orscreaming) introduces another long speech, and Sabinus's rant in indirect statement runs through the remainder of the chapter.

**cum**: "after"; see App. §§238, 242.

**2. adiūctis Germānīs**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**3. calamitātis**: partitive gen; see App. §101, a.

**4. cōsulendī**: gerund; see App. §287.

**Caesarem**: acc. subject of the inf. **profec-tum (esse)** in indirect statement dependent on **arbitrārī**.

**arbitrārī**: supply *sē* to serve as the subject of this inf. in indirect statement dependent on **clāmitābat**, whose subject, of course, is Titurius (a.k.a. Sabinus), the irrational screamer who is delivering this speech.

**5. interficiendī**: gerundive; see App. §§288, 291.

**5–7. neque Carnutēs . . . fuisse captūrōs, neque Eburōnēs, sī ille adesset, . . . ventūrōs esse**: "if Caesar had been nearby, neither would the Carnutes have adopted . . . nor would the Eburones be approaching," etc. For contrary to fact conditions in indirect statement, see App. §272; compare §§ 252, b; 254.

**7. contēptiōne**: abl. of manner; see App. § 142.

**nostrī**: "for us"; objective gen.; see App. §98.

- 10 *Nōn hostem auctōrem, sed rem spectāre: subesse Rhēnum;  
magnō esse Germānīs dolōrī Ariovistī mortem et superiōrēs  
nostrās victōriās; ārdēre Galliam tot contumēliīs acceptīs sub  
populī Rōmānī imperium redāctam superiōre glōriā reī militāris  
extinctā.*

**ard•eō, -ēre, arsi, arsum**, burn, blaze, be inflamed, be eager.

**Ariovist•us, -i, m.**, Ariovistus, a Germanic king.

**auctor, -is, m.** [**augeō**, increase], one who produces, creates, or originates; promoter, instigator, advisor, author.

**contumēli•a, -ae, f.**, affront, indignity, insult; injury, violence.

**dol•or, -ōris, m.** [**doleō**, grieve], grief, distress, pain, anguish.

**ex•stinguō, -stinguere, -stīnxī, -stinctum**, put out, quench; destroy.

**glōri•a, -ae, f.**, glory, reputation.

**imper•ium, -ī, n.** [**imperō**, order], right to command; authority; jurisdiction; supreme, highest official power.

**militār•is, -e, adj.** [**mīles**, soldier], of a soldier, military, martial; **rēs militāris**, military matters, warfare, the science of war.

**red•igō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctum** [**red-** + **agō**, put in motion], bring back, bring under; render, make; reduce.

**spectō**, 1 [**frequentative of speciō**, see], look at, regard; face.

**sub**, *prep. with acc.*, under, beneath.

**sub•sum, -esse, -fuī, —** [**sum**, be. App. §77], be under or below, be near or close at hand.

**tot**, *indecl. adj.*, so many.

**8. spectāre**: supply *sē* (referring to Titurius Sabinus) as the acc. subject of this inf.

**9. magnō . . . dolōrī**: dat. of purpose; see App. §119.

**Germānīs**: dat. of reference; see App. §120.

**Ariovistī mortem**: Caesar defeated Ariovistus in 58 BCE, which is described in Book One. How he may have died in the interim, however, is unclear.

**10. Galliam**: acc. subject of **ārdēre** in indirect statement.

**10–11. Galliam . . . redāctam**: “Gaul, which, after suffering so many violent assaults, was subjugated under the military authority of the Roman people,” etc. As is so often the case, we use subordinate clauses where Latin prefers an abl. absolute and a part. See App. §286.

**11–12. superiōre glōriā . . . extinctā**: another abl. absolute; see App. §150.

- 15 Postrēmō quis hōc sibi persuādēret, sine certā rē Ambiorīgem  
ad eiusmodī cōsiliū dēscendisse? Suam sententiam in  
utramque partem esse tūtā: sī nihil esset dūrius, nūllō cum  
periculō ad proximam legiōnem perventūrōs; sī Gallia omnis cum  
Germānīs cōsentīret, ūnam esse in celeritāte positā salutē.

**cōn.sentiō, -sentīre, -sēnsī, -sēnsūm**  
[sentiō, feel], think together: agree,  
combine.

**dē.scendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēnsūm**  
[scandō, climb], climb down, go down,  
descend; have recourse (to), resort.

**dūr.us, -a, -um, adj.**, hard, rough, harsh,  
difficult, dangerous; severe, inclement.

**eiusmodī**, of such a sort or kind, such.

**nūll.us, -a, -um, gen. nullius, adj.** [ne- +  
ūllus, any], not any, no.

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum**, place, put,  
place over; lay down, set aside; station,

post; regard, consider; make, build; with  
in and the abl., depend on, in addition to  
the above meanings.

**postrēmō, adv.** [postrēmus, last], finally,  
at last.

**sententi.a, -ae, f.** [sentiō, think], way of  
thinking, opinion, sentiment; purpose,  
design, scheme, plan; decision, resolve;  
verdict; sentence.

**tūt.us, -a, -um, adj.** [tueor, protect],  
protected, safe, secure.

**13. persuādēret:** what was an indicative  
verb in an interrog. sentence becomes sub-  
junctive when represented in indirect state-  
ment; see App. §268.

**certā rē:** “irrefutable proof.”

**Ambiorīgem . . . dēscendisse:** ind. state-  
ment dependent on **persuādēret**.

**14. suam sententiam:** acc. subject of **esse**  
in indirect statement dependent (because  
we have moved on to a new argument) on  
the verb **clāmitābat** at the beginning of the

section, and thus **suam** refers to Titurius Sa-  
binus’s opinion.

**15–16. sī . . . sī:** on conditions in indirect  
statement, see App. §272.

**16. perventūrōs:** fut. active inf. (without  
*esse*) dependent on **sententia**. Why do we find  
the m. pl.? The subject is ellipted, so we may  
supply *sē*, but *sē* would here refer both to Titu-  
rius Sabinus and to everyone in the council  
and camp.

**17. ūnam:** “(their) only.”

Cottae quidem atque eōrum, quī dissentīrent, cōnsilium quem  
habēre exitum? In quō sī nōn praesēns periculum, at certē  
20 longinquā obsidiōne famēs esset timenda?

**certē**, *adv.* [**certus**, certain], certainly; at least.

**Cott•a**, -ae, *m.*, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**dis•sentiō**, -sentire, -sēnsi, -sēnsū [**sentiō**, feel], differ, disagree.

**exit•us**, -ūs, *m.* [**exeō**, go out], a going out, exit, passage; issue, result, end.

**fam•ēs**, -is, *f.*, starvation, hunger.

**longinqu•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [**longus**, long], distant, remote; long.

**obsidi•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [**obsideō**, blockade], siege, investment, blockade; peril, oppression.

**prae•sum**, -esse, -fui, — [**sum**, be. App. §77], be before or over, be in command of, rule over, be at the head of; **praesēns**, *pres. part. as adj.*: present, in person; for the present.

**quidem**, *adv.*, indeed, at any rate, at least, truly; on the other hand; **nē . . . quidem**, not even.

**time•ō**, -ēre, -ui, —, fear, be afraid of, dread; *with dat.*, be anxious about, be anxious for, dread; **nihil timēre**, have no fear.

**18. Cottae . . . cōnsilium**: note the emphatic placement of Cotta and all those opposed to Titurius Sabinus at the beginning of the clause as well as the placement of the direct object, **cōnsilium**, before the interrog. *adj.* **quem**. We can almost hear Titurius Sabinus shouting in indirect statement!

**18–19. quem habēre exitum**: because the question was rhetorical (i.e., Titurius Sabinus

knows what answer he wants), the *inf.* is used in indirect statement rather than the subjunctive. See App. §268, II.

**19. in quō**: “in which case” (referring to the antecedent **exitum**).

**20. obsidiōne**: *abl.* of cause; see App. §138.



[5.30] *Hāc in utramque partem disputatiōne habitā, cum ā Cottā primisque ordinibus ācritē resisterētur, “Vincite,” inquit, “sī ita vultis,” Sabīnus, et id clāriore vōce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret; “neque is sum,” inquit, “quī gravissimē ex vōbīs mortis*  
*periculō terrear: hī sapient; sī gravius quid acciderit, abs tē*  
*rationem reposcent, quī, sī per tē liceat, perendinō diē cum*  
*proximis hibernis coniuncti communem cum reliquis belli cāsum*  
*sustineant, nōn rēiecti et relēgati longē ab cēteris aut ferrō aut*  
*fame intereant.”*

**ācritē**, *adv.* [ācer, sharp], sharply, fiercely.  
**cās•us, -ūs**, *m.* [cadō, fall], accident, chance, misfortune.

**cēter•ī, -ae, -a**, *adj.*, the rest of.

**clār•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, clear, loud.

**con•iungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctum**

[coniungō, join], join with or together, connect, unite, bind.

**Cott•a, -ae**, *m.*, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**disputāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [disputō, discuss], argument, discussion.

**ego, mei** (App. §51), *first pers. pron.*, I, me; *pl. nōs*, we, us, etc.

**ex•audiō**, 4 [audiō, hear], hear (*from a distance*).

**fam•ēs, -is**, *f.*, starvation, hunger.

**ferr•um, -i, n.**, iron; tool; sword.

**inqu•am, -is, -it**, say.

**inter•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [eō, go], die.

**licet, licēre, licuit** and **licitum est**, *impers.*, it is permitted.

**perendin•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, after tomorrow.  
**rati•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [reor, reckon], reckoning, account.

**re•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [re + iaciō, throw.], hurl or drive back, repel; cast down or off; drive off or out.

**relegō**, 1 [re + legō, delegate], send away, remove.

**re•poscō, -poscere, —, —** [re + poscō, demand], demand back, exact, ask for.

**re•sistō, -sistere, -stiti, —** [sistō, stand], stand back, remain behind, halt; resist, oppose.

**Sabin•us, -i**, *m.*, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**sap•iō, -ere, -ivī, —**, be wise, understand.

**terreō**, 2, frighten, terrify.

**tū, tui** (App. §51), *second pers. pron.*, you; *pl. vos*.

**vīncō, vincere, vīcī, victum**, conquer, prevail; have one's way or desire.

**vōx, vōcis**, *f.*, voice; shout; word.

**1. in utramque partem:** Caesar refers to Cotta's argument in favor of staying in the camp versus Titurius Sabinus's in favor of accepting Ambiorix's promise of safe passage.

**1–2. cum . . . resisterētur:** subjunctive in a temporal clause; see App. §§237, 240.

**2. Vincite:** Caesar's sudden shift to direct statement is the rhetorical equivalent to turning up the volume.

**4. neque is sum, quī . . . ex vōbīs:** “nor am I the one who . . . among you,” i.e., among the men in this council; compare App. §101, b.

**5. hī** = *militēs*, i.e., the soldiers who are not in the council, but who are in the camp, and

can hear what Titurius Sabinus is saying—because he is shouting so loudly!

**6–9. quī, sī per tē liceat, . . . sustineant, nōn . . . intereant:** future less vivid conditions; see App. §257. The protasis (if-clause) has been ellipted from the second condition, which is appended to the first apodosis (conclusion) with no conj. in ASYNDETON. The second apodosis will be easier to translate, if you repeat the ellipted “quī, sī per tē liceat.”

**7. cum reliquis** = *militibus*, i.e., Caesar's other soldiers in other camps.

**8. ab cēteris** = *militibus*, i.e., Caesar's other soldiers in other camps.

- [5.31] *Cōnsurgitur ex cōnsiliō; comprehendunt utrumque et ōrant, nē suā dissēnsiōne et pertināciā rem in summum periculum dēdūcant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficīscantur, sī modo ūnum omnēs sentiant ac probent; contrā in dissēnsiōne*  
 5 *nūllam sē salūtem perspicere. Rēs disputātiōne ad mediam noctem perdūcitur.*

**com•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**)], seize], lay hold of, seize, arrest.  
**cōn•surgō, -surgere, -surrēxi, -surrectum** [**surgō**, rise], arise together, arise in a body, arise.  
**contrā**, *adv. and prep. with acc.:* (1) *as adv.:* against him or them; on the other hand; **contrā atque**, contrary to what; (2) *as prep.*, against, contrary to; opposite, facing.  
**dē•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxi, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead down; bring, conduct.  
**disputāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**disputō**, discuss], argument, discussion.  
**dissensi•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**dissentiō**, think differently], disagreement, dissension.  
**maneō, manēre, mānsi, mānsūm**, remain, continue, abide, stay.  
**medi•us, -a, -um, adj.**, in the middle of; in the middle, intervening, intermediate;  
**locus medius utriusque**, a place midway between the two.  
**modo**, *adv.* [**modus**, measure], *with measure or limit*; only; just, at least, but; *of time*, just now.

**nūll•us, -a, -um, gen. nūllius, adj.** [**ne- + ūllus**, any], not any, no.  
**ōrō, 1 [ōs, mouth]**, speak; beseech, entreat.  
**per•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxi, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead through or along, conduct, bring over, bring; construct, extend; influence, win over; draw out, prolong.  
**per•spiciō, -spicere, -spexi, -spectum** [**spiciō**, look], look or see through; view, examine, inspect; perceive, realize, learn, find out, ascertain.  
**pertināci•a, -ae, f.** [**pertineō**, hold onto], obstinacy, stubbornness, pertinacity.  
**probō, 1 [probus, good]**, approve; demonstrate.  
**sentiō, sentire, sēnsi, sēnsūm**, perceive, be aware of, notice, experience, undergo; realize, know; decide, judge; sanction, adhere to.  
**sive and seu, conj.** [**sī + ve, or**], or if, if; or; whether; **sive . . . sive**, either . . . or, whether . . . or, to see if . . . or.

**1. Cōnsurgitur:** “they stand up as a group” is preferable to a literal translation of this typically Latin *impers.* construction of an intransitive verb; see App. §181.

**comprehendunt utrumque:** “they clasp (the hands) of each,” i.e., of Titurius Sabinus and Aurunculeius Cotta.

**2. rem:** “the current situation” or “state of affairs.”

**2–3. nē . . . dēdūcant:** volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of negative purpose (or indirect command) after **ōrant**; see App. §227.

**4. ūnum:** “one thing,” i.e., “the same thing.” The soldiers want their commanders to agree.

**5–6. ad mediam noctem:** night was a notoriously bad time for deliberations. Military necessity sometimes required nocturnal deliberation, but in Rome the civil government always broke off deliberations at sunset, and did not resume deliberations until after sunrise. Midnight also represented the end of the Roman day.

Tandem *dat Cotta permōtus manūs*: superat sententia Sabīnī.  
 Prōnūntiātur *primā lūce* itūrōs. Cōnsūmitur vigiliis *reliqua*  
 10 *pars noctis, cum sua quisque miles* circumspiceret, *quid sēcum*  
*portāre posset, quid ex instrūmentō hibernōrum relinquere*  
*cōgerētur.*

**circum•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum**  
 [speciō, look] look (around) for or at,  
 consider, examine.

**cōn•sūmō, -sūmere, -sūmpsī, -sūmptum**  
 [sūmō, take], take together or all at once:  
 devour, consume, destroy; use up, waste,  
 pass.

**eō, ire, ii (ivī), itum** (App. §84), go,  
 proceed, march, pass.

**instrūment•um, -ī, n.** [instruō, build],  
 tool, apparatus, equipment.

**lūx, lūcis, f.**, light, daylight; **primā lūce**, at  
 dawn.

**per•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum**  
 [moveō, move], move thoroughly; incite;  
 influence.

**portō, 1**, carry, transport, bring, take.

**pro•nūntiō, 1** [nūntiō, announce],  
 announce, give out publicly, tell, relate,

report, say; give orders; with **sententia**,  
 pronounce.

**Sabin•us, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus,  
 one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**sententi•a, -ae, f.** [sentiō, think], way of  
 thinking, opinion, sentiment; purpose,  
 design, scheme, plan; decision, resolve;  
 verdict; sentence.

**superō, 1** [super, over], go over; be superior  
 to, conquer; remain.

**tandem, adv.**, at last, at length, finally; in  
 interrog. clauses to add emphasis, as **quid**  
**tandem**, what then?

**vigili•a, -ae, f.** [vigil, awake], wakefulness,  
 watching; a watch, one of the four equal  
 divisions of the night, used by the Romans in  
 reckoning time and organizing guard duty.

7. **dat Cotta . . . manūs**: Aurunculeius Cot-  
 ta, the junior officer, "gives up," i.e., he lifts his  
 hands in surrender.

8. **itūrōs** = *omnēs itūrōs esse*.

9. **cum . . . circumspiceret**: "while"; see  
 App. §234.

**sua**: "his things," i.e., his possessions. As  
 the heavy baggage train that later gets in their  
 way will demonstrate, the soldiers tried to  
 take along as much as possible.

9–11. **quid . . . posset, quid . . . cōgerētur**:  
 indirect questions; see App. §262.

15 *Omnia excōgitantur, quārē nec sine periculō maneātur, et  
languōre militum et vigiliis periculum augeātur. Primā lūce sic  
ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quibus esset persuāsum nōn ab hoste,  
sed ab homine amīcissimō Ambiorīge cōnsilium datum, longissimō  
agmine maximisque impedimentis.*

**agm•en, -inis**, *n.* [agō, move], a moving body; a marching column; army; **in agmine**, on the march; **primum agmen**, the vanguard (*those in front*); **novissimum** or **extrēmum agmen**, the rear (*those in back*).  
**amīc•us, -ī**, *m.*, [amō, love], friend.  
**auge•ō, -ēre, auxī, auctum**, increase, augment, enhance, add to.  
**excōgitō**, 1 [cōgitō, think], think out, contrive, devise, invent.  
**impediment•um, -ī**, *n.* [impediō, hinder], hindrance, obstacle; *pl.*: baggage, baggage-train (*including pack animals*).  
**langu•or, -ōris**, *m.*, weakness, faintness.

**lūx, lūcis**, *f.*, light, daylight; **primā lūce**, at dawn.  
**maneō, manēre, mānsī, mānsum**, remain, continue, abide, stay.  
**quārē**, *adv.* [quī, which + rēs, thing], (1) *interrog.*, why? wherefore? for what reason? (2) *rel.*, on this account, therefore, wherefore.  
**sic**, *adv.*, so, thus, in this manner; **sic . . . ut**, so . . . that; so . . . as.  
**vigili•a, -ae**, *f.* [vigil, awake], wakefulness, watching; a watch, *one of the four equal divisions of the night, used by the Romans in reckoning time and organizing guard duty*.

**12. Omnia**: “all sorts of reasons.”  
**nec sine periculō**: LITOTES, see App. §301, g.

**12–13. quārē . . . maneātur, . . . augeātur**: “why they would remain (in that place) . . . , (why) danger would be increased . . .”

**13. languōre . . . et vigiliis**: *abl.* of cause; see App. §138.

**13–14. sic . . . proficiscuntur ut (ei) quibus esset persuāsum**: “thus . . . they set out as (do those) who had been convinced”; **ut** introduces

the comparisons; **quibus** introduces a *rel.* clause of characteristic (see App. §230).

**15. sed (proficiscuntur ut ei quibus) . . . (esset) datum**: “but instead (they set out like those to whom) had been granted,” etc. Latin requires that the reader keep ellipted phrases in mind to construe the syntax. Such ellipsis helps keep Caesar’s thought terse, compressed, and pointed.

**15–16. longissimō . . . impedimentis**: *abls.* of manner without *cum*; see App. §142.

- [5.32] *At hostēs, posteāquam ex nocturnō fremitū vigiliisque dē profectione eōrum sēnsērunt, collocātis insidiis bipertitō in silvis opportūnō atque occultō locō ā milibus passuum circiter duōbus Rōmānōrum adventum exspectābant, et cum sē maior*  
 5 *pars agminis in magnam convallem dēmīisset, ex utrāque parte eius vāllis subitō sē ostendērunt novissimōsque premere et primōs prohibēre ascēnsū atque iniquissimō nostris locō proelium committere coepērunt.*

**agm•en, -inis, n.** [agō, move], a moving body; a marching column; army.

**ascēns•us, -ūs, m.** [ascendō, climb up], ascent, approach, climbing up.

**bipertitō, adv.** [bis, twice + partior, divide], in two parts or divisions, in two ways.

**com•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [mittō, send], join; **proelium committere**, join or begin battle.

**convall•is, -is, f.** [vallis, valley], enclosed valley, defile.

**dē•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [mittō, send], send, thrust or let down; **sē dēmītere**, come or get down, descend.

**exspectō, 1** [spectō, look at], look out for, await, expect.

**fremīt•us, -ūs, m.,** confusion, noise, uproar.

**inīqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + aequus, even, just], uneven; unfair; disadvantageous.

**īnsidi•ae, -ārum, f. pl.** [sedeō, sit], ambush; treachery; artifice, trick, crafty device.

**maior, maius, adj.** [comp. of magnus, large], larger.

**nocturn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [nox, night], at night, nocturnal, nightly.

**nov•us, -a, -um, adj.**, new; *superl.*:

**novissim•us, -a, -um**, latest, last; as noun or with agmen, those in the rear, the rear.

**occultō, 1** [occultus, secret], hide, keep secret, conceal.

**opportūn•us, -a, -um, adj.**, fit, opportune, lucky, suitable; favorable, advantageous.

**os•tendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentum** [obs + tendō, stretch], stretch before; present, show, bring into view, reveal.

**posteāquam, adv.** [postea, afterward + quam, than], after.

**profecti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [proficiscor, set out], a setting out; start, departure.

**prohibeō, 2** [habeō, hold], keep from, prevent; keep out or away from; guard.

**sentiō, sentire, sēnsī, sēnsus**, perceive, be aware of, notice.

**silv•a, -ae, f.**, forest, woods, a wood.

**subitō, adv.** [subitus, sudden], suddenly.

**vall•ēs, is, f.**, a valley

**vigili•a, -ae, f.** [vigil, awake], wakefulness, watching; a watch.

1. **hostēs**: the nom. pl. subject of the many pl. verbs in this sentence is placed first, and rather far from the verbs this subject governs. See App. §302, f., on HYPERBATON.

2. **collocātis insidiis**: abl. absolute.

2–3. **bipertitō . . . opportūnō atque occultō locō**: abl. of place where without in.

3–4. **ā milibus passuum circiter duōbus**: “about two miles away.”

4–6. **cum sē . . . dēmīisset, . . . sē ostendērunt**: each reflexive (sē) refers to

the subject of the verb of which it is itself the direct object. Note too that Caesar helps his readers by using a sing. verb to refer to the “greater part of the (Roman) column,” which makes it impossible to construe the pl. **ostendērunt** as referring to anyone other than the enemy.

7. **ascēnsū atque . . . locō**: abl. of separation; see App. §134.

**nostris**: “for our men”; dat. of reference; see App. §120.

- [5.33] *Tum dēnum Titūrius, quī nihil ante prōvidisset, trepidāre et concursāre cohortēsque dispōnere, haec tamen ipsa timidē atque ut eum omnia dēficere vidērentur; quod plērumque eīs accidere cōsuēvit, quī in ipsō negōtiō cōsiliū*  
 5 *capere cōguntur. At Cotta, quī cōgitāset haec posse in itinere accidere atque ob eam causam profectiōnis auctor nōn fuisset,*

**auctor, -is, m.** [**augeō**, increase], one

who produces, creates, or originates; promoter, instigator, advisor, author.

**cogitō, i** [**co** + **agitō**, consider], consider thoroughly or carefully, ponder, reflect; think, purpose, plan.

**concurso, i** [*frequ. of* **concurrō**, run], run about.

**Cott•a, -ae, m.**, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**dē•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], fail, desert, fall away, revolt.

**dēnum, adv.**, at length, at last, finally.

**dis•pōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum** [**pōnō**, put], place apart, place about; distribute, arrange, station.

**negōt•ium, -ī, n.** [**neg** + **ōtium**, leisure], concern, business, undertaking; trouble,

difficulty, labor; **negōtium dare**, employ, direct; **quid negōtī**, what business; **nihil negōtī**, no difficulty.

**ob, prep. with acc.**, on account of, for.

**plērumque, adv.** [**plērusque**, the greater part], mostly, generally; very often.

**profecti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**proficiscor**, set out], a setting out; start, departure.

**prō•videō, -vidēre, -vidī, -visum** [**videō**, see], see beforehand, foresee; care for, provide.

**timidē, adv.** [**timidus**, fearful], fearfully, cowardly, timidly.

**Titūr•ius, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**trepidō, i**, hurry about in alarm; shake with fear; *pass.*, be disturbed or in confusion.

1. **quī . . . prōvidisset**: "since he . . ."; subjunctive because the rel. clause is causal; see App. §243.

2. **trepidāre et concursāre . . . dispōnere**: historical infns., which may be translated as past tense verbs: "Titurius . . . hurried about in fearful confusion," etc.; see App. §281. Another way to translate them is as if they depended on **coepit**, i.e., "Titurius . . . (began to) hurry about in fearful confusion," etc. Caesar portrays Titurius Sabinus as completely incompetent.

2–3. **haec tamen ipsa timidē**: this phrase refers in apposition to what Titurius finally began to do, and describes the fearful manner in which he did "these very things."

3. **atque ut**: "and as if" or "and with the result that."

**eum**: acc. direct object of the complementary inf. **dēficere**.

**omnia**: nom. pl. subject of **vidērentur**.

**quod** = *id quod*, a clause in apposition to the result clause that further explains why everything was going wrong for Titurius Sabinus.

5. **At Cotta**: This is the third time in a row that Caesar begins with the subject. Compare the previous two sentences: **At hostēs** in 5.32 and **Tum dēnum Titūrius** above. Caesar effectively brings our focus sharply onto the three main "characters" in the unfolding tragedy. See also **HYPERBATON**, App. §302, f.

5–6. **quī cōgitāset . . . atque . . . fuisset**: "since he . . ."; subjunctive because the rel. clause is causal; see App. §243.

nūllā in rē commūnī salūtī deerat et in appellandis  
 cohortandisque militibus imperātōris et in pugnā militis  
 officia praestābat. Cum propter longitudinem agminis  
 10 minus facile omnia per sē obīre et, quid quōque locō faciendum  
 esset, prōvidēre possent, iussērunt prōnūntiāre, ut impedimenta  
 relinquerent atque in orbem cōsisterent.

**agm•en, -inis**, *n.* [**agō**, move], a moving body; a marching column; army; **in agmine**, on the march; **primum agmen**, the vanguard (*those in front*); **novissimum** or **extrēmum agmen**, the rear (*those in back*).  
**appellō, -āre**, *1*, call, name.  
**cohortor**, *1* [**co** + **hortor**, encourage], encourage greatly, cheer, animate.  
**cōn•sistō, -sistere, -stitī**, — [**sistō**, stand], take a stand or position, keep one's position, stand, form (*when soldiers make a formation*); stop, halt, remain, stay; (*of ships*) lie at anchor; consist in, depend or rest on.  
**dē•sum, -esse, -fui**, — [**sum**, be. App. §66], be lacking, be absent from, fail.  
**impediment•um, -ī**, *n.* [**impediō**, hinder], hindrance, obstacle; *pl.*: baggage, baggage-train (*including pack animals*).  
**imperāt•or, -ōris**, *m.* [**imperō**, order], commander-in-chief, general.

**longitūd•ō, -inis**, *f.* [**longus**, long], length, extent; long duration.  
**nūll•us, -a, -um**, *gen. nūllius*, *adj.* [**ne** + **ūllus**, any], not any, no.  
**ob•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go. App. §84], go to or towards; perform, attend to.  
**offic•ium, -ī**, *n.*, allegiance, duty; business.  
**orb•is, -is**, *m.*, orb, ring, circle; **orbis terrārum**, the world.  
**prae•stō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātum** [**stō**, stand], stand or place before; show, exhibit, supply; be superior, excel, surpass.  
**prō•nūntiō, 1** [**nūntiō**, announce], announce, give out publicly, tell, relate, report, say; give orders; *with* **sententia**, pronounce.  
**propter**, *prep. with acc.* [**prope**, near], on account of, because of.  
**prō•videō, -vidēre, -vidī, -vīsum** [**videō**, see], see beforehand, foresee; care for, provide.

7. **salūtī**: dat. of purpose; see App. §119.

7–8. **et . . . et . . .**: Cotta fulfilled in this sentence the duties *both* of a commander *and* of a soldier.

**in . . . militibus**: on the gerundive construction, see App. §§288, 294.

8. **imperātōris**: supply *officia praestābat*, which has been ellipted. English does not generally allow this kind of “gapping” in advance. See App. §301, *c*.

10. **per sē**: “on their own” or “by themselves.”

9–11. **Cum . . . possent**: subjunctive in a causal clause; see App. §238.

**quid**: one may construe the whole clause as the object of **prōvidēre**. For the insertion of an explanatory phrase into the syntax of a sentence, see PARENTHESIS in App. §301, *e*.

11. **iussērunt prōnūntiāre**: “they ordered (everyone) to pass the word along.” Some manuscripts have the pass. **prōnūntiārī**, which is only slightly easier to construe: “they ordered the word to be passed along.”

11–12. **ut . . . cōsisterent**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command); see App. §§227–228.

- 15 *Quod cōnsilium etsi in eiusmodi cāsū reprehendendum nōn est, tamen incommodē accidit: nam et nostris militibus spem minuit et hostēs ad pugnam alacriōrēs effēcit, quod nōn sine summō timōre et dēspērātiōne id factum vidēbātur. Praetereā accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgō militēs ab signīs discēderent, quae quisque eōrum cārissima habēret, ab impedimentis petere atque arripere properāret, clāmōre et*
- 20 *flētū omnia complērentur.*

**ala•cer, -cris, -cre**, *adj.*, lively, eager, active, ready, joyous, “fired up.”  
**arrip•iō, -ere, -uī, arreptum** [**ad + rapiō**, seize], take or seize hurriedly.  
**car•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, dear, precious.  
**cās•us, -ūs, m.** [**cadō**, fall], accident, chance, misfortune; **cāsū**, by chance.  
**clām•or, -ōris, m.** [**clamō**, cry out], outcry, noise, shouting, clamor.  
**com•pleō, -plēre, -plēvi, -plētum** [*obs.*: **pleō**, fill], fill up; complete; cover.  
**dēspērāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**dēspērō**, despair], despair, hopelessness.  
**ef•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], make or do completely, complete, construct; cause, render.  
**eiusmodi**, of such a sort or kind, such.  
**etsi**, *conj.* [**et + si**, if], even if, although.  
**flēt•us, -ūs, m.** [**fleō**, weep], weeping, lamentation.  
**impediment•um, -i, n.** [**impediō**, hinder], hindrance, obstacle; *pl.*: baggage, baggage-train (including pack animals).

**incommodē**, *adv.* [**incommodus**, inconvenient], inconveniently.  
**minuō, minuire, minuī, minūtum** [**minus**, less], lessen, impair, diminish; settle (**contrōversiās**); **minuente aestū**, the tide ebbing.  
**necesse**, *indecl. adj.*, necessary, unavoidable, indispensable.  
**praetereā**, *adv.* [**praeter**, beyond], beyond this, besides, furthermore.  
**properō, 1** [**properus**, quick], hasten, hurry.  
**re•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], hold back; criticize, blame, censure.  
**sign•um, -i, n.**, signal; standard; **ab signīs discēdere**, withdraw from the ranks.  
**tim•or, -ōris, m.** [**timeō**, fear], fear, alarm, dread.  
**vulgō**, *adv.* [**vulgus**, the crowd], commonly, everywhere.

13. **Quod cōnsilium** = *et id cōnsilium*; *conjunctio relativa*; see App. §173, *a*.

15. **nōn sine**: LITOTES; see App. §302, *g*.

15–16. **quod . . . vidēbātur**: a causal clause with the indicative; see App. §243.

16. **factum**: perf. pass. inf. with *esse* omitted in indirect statement dependent on **vidēbātur**.

17–20. **ut . . . discēderent, . . . properāret, . . . complērentur**: subjunctives in substantive clauses of result or fact; see App. §§224,

229, *a*. The *ut* is ellipped before the second and third verbs, and the phrases are connected without a conj. (ASYNDETON; see App. §301, *a*). Note also that each verb has a different subject. This harsh syntax seems to mirror the confusion in the ranks that Caesar describes.

18. **quae . . . habēret**: the omitted antecedent is *ea*.

**habēret**: the unexpressed subject is *quisque* (from the subordinate clause introduced by **quae**).



[5.34] *At barbarīs cōnsilium nōn dēfuit. Nam ducēs eōrum tōtā aciē prōnūntiāre iussērunt, nē quis ab locō discēderet: illōrum esse praedam atque illis reservārī quaecumque Rōmānī reliquissent: proinde omnia in victōriā posita exīstimārent.*

**aci•ēs, -ēi** (old gen. **aciē**), *f.*, sharp point or edge of a weapon; sharp or keen sight, glance; a line (as forming an edge), battle line; **prima**, the vanguard; **media**, the center; **novissima**, the rear (guard).

**barbar•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, foreign (to Romans and Greeks), uncivilized; *pl. as noun*: barbarians.

**dē•sum, -esse, -fuī**, — [**sum**, be. App. §66], be lacking, be absent from, fail.

**dux, ducis**, *m.* [**dūco**, lead], leader, commander, general; guide.

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum**, place, put, place over; lay down, set aside; station, post; regard, consider; make, build; with

**castra**, pitch; *pass.*: be situated; with **in** and the *abl.*, depend on, in addition to the above meanings.

**praed•a, -ae**, *f.*, booty, plunder, spoil.

**proinde**, *adv.*, hence, accordingly, therefore.

**pro•nūntiō**, 1 [**nūntiō**, announce], announce, give out publicly, tell, relate, report, say; give orders; with **sententia**, pronounce.

**quicumque, quaecumque, quodcumque**, *indef. (or generalizing) rel. pron.*, whoever, whatever; whosoever, whatsoever, any . . . whatever; everyone who, everything that.

**reservō**, 1 [**re** + **servō**, save, keep], keep back, save up, reserve.

1. **barbarīs**: dat. of reference; see App. §120.

2. **tōtā aciē**: “along the whole battle line”; abl. of place where; see App. §151, *b*. **quis** = *aliquis*; see App. §174.

3. **illis reservārī** (*ea*) **quaecumque**: we may supply *ea* both as the unexpressed acc. subject of the inf. **reservārī** in indirect statement after **prōnūntiāre** and as the antecedent to **quaecumque**. Note also that the baggage

the men brought got in their way and served as an incentive to their enemies.

4. **posita**: perf. pass. inf. with *esse* omitted in indirect statement dependent on **exīstimārent**.

**exīstimārent**: subjunctive in indirect statement dependent on the speech implied by the inf. **prōnūntiāre** (back at the beginning of the sentence!).

- 5 *Erant et virtūte et studiō pugnandī parēs; nostrī, tametsī ab duce et ā fortūnā dēserēbantur, tamen omnem spem salūtis in virtūte pōnēbant, et quotiēns quaeque cohors prōcurrerat, ab eā parte magnus numerus hostium cadēbat.*

**cad•ō, -ere, cecidī, cāsum**, fall; fall in battle, be killed, die.

**dē•serō, -serere, -seruī, -sertum** [serō, entwine, join], disjoin; abandon, desert, forsake; **dēsertus**, *perf. part. as adj.*: deserted, solitary.

**dux, ducis**, *m.* [dūcō, lead], leader, commander, general; guide.

**fortū•a, -ae, f.** [fors, chance], fortune, chance, opportunity, condition; success, property.

**pār, paris**, *adj.*, equal, like, similar; equal to, a match for; *with words of number and quantity*, the same; **pār atque**, the same as.

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum**, place, put, place over; lay down, set aside; station,

post; regard, consider; make, build; *with castra*, pitch; *pass.*: be situated; *with in and the abl.*, depend on, *in addition to the above meanings*.

**pro•currō, -currere, -curri, -cursum** [currō, run], run or rush forward, rush out, charge.

**quotiēns**, *adv.* [quot, how many?], (1) *interrog.*, how many times? how often? (2) *rel.*, as often as.

**stud•ium, -ī, n.** [studeō, be zealous], eagerness; devotion; pursuit.

**tametsī**, *conj.* [tamen, however + etsī, even if], although, though, notwithstanding.

**5. et virtūte et studiō**: ablatives of respect; see App. §149.

**pugnandī**: gerund; see App. §291.

**nostrī**: “our men.” Note that Caesar may cast all blame for the disaster on others, but he does not blame his men. The men were brave; their misfortune was to be led by idiots.

**5–8. Erant . . . dēserēbantur . . . pōnēbant . . . cadēbat**: Note the many impf. verb forms used to describe ongoing action in the past.

**7–8. quotiēns . . . prōcurrerat, . . . cadēbat**: Note Caesar’s careful sequencing of time through the combination of plupf. and impf.

- 10 *Quā rē animadversā Ambiorīx prōnūntiārī iubet, ut procul tēla coniciant neu propius accēdant et, quam in partem Rōmānī impetum fēcerint, cēdant (levitāte armōrum et cotidiānā exercitātiōne nihil hīs nocērī posse), rūrsus sē ad signa recipientēs īnsequantur.*

**ac•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**ad** + **cēdō**, go], approach, come near to, arrive at, come to; to be added.

**animad•vertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versum** [**animus**, mind + **ad** + **vertō**, turn], turn the mind to; notice.

**cēdō, -ere, cessī, cessum**, go, go away; give way, yield, retreat.

**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**co** + **iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.

**cotidiān•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**cotidiē**, daily], daily; customary.

**exercitāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [*frequentative of exercitō*, from **exerceō**, exercise], exercise, training, practice, experience.

**impet•us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.

**īn•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus sum** [**sequor**, follow], follow up, follow after, follow close behind, pursue.

**levi•tās, -tātis, f.** [**levis**, light], lightness; fickleness, restlessness.

**nēve (neu)** (App. §188, b.) [**nē** + **ve**, or], and not, nor.

**noceō, nocēre, nocuī, nocitum**, harm, injure, hurt; **nocēns, pres. part. as noun**: guilty person.

**procul, adv.**, far off, from afar, in the distance, at a distance.

**pro•nūntiō, 1** [**nūntiō**, announce], announce, give out publicly, tell, relate, report, say; give orders; *with* **sententia**, pronounce.

**propius, adv. and prep. with acc.** (App. §122, b.) [**prope**, near], nearer.

**rūrsus, adv.** [*for* **reversus**, from **revertō**, turn back], again, back, anew; in turn.

**sign•um, -ī, n.**, signal; standard; **signa inferre**, advance to the attack.

**9. Quā rē animadversā** = *et eā rē animadversā*; see App. §173, a.; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**iubet**: note the sudden shift to the pres. tense as we approach the height of the battle; see App. §190, a.

**9–13. ut . . . accēdant et . . . īnsequantur**: two volitive subjunctives in substantive clauses of purpose (or indirect command) after **prōnūntiārī**; see App. §228.

**10. quam in partem** = *in eam partem, in quam*. Caesar frequently puts what should be the antecedent inside the rel. clause.

**11–12. levitāte . . . posse**: indirect statement dependent on the inf. **prōnūntiārī**, which, although it governs the volitive substantive **ut** clause, also represents a verb of speaking, hence the parenthetical indirect speech, which might otherwise seem difficult to justify.

- [5.35] *Quō praeceptō ab eis diligentissimē observātō, cum quaequam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fēcerat, hostēs vėlōcissimē refugiēbant. Interim eam partem nūdārī necesse erat et ab latere apertō tēla recipī. Rūrsus cum in eum*  
 5 *locum unde erant ēgressī revertī coeperant, et ab eis quī cesserant et ab eis quī proximī steterant circumveniēbantur; sīn autem locum tenēre vellent, nec virtūtī locus relinquebātur, neque ab tantā multitudīne coniecta tēla cōnfertī vitāre poterant.*

**aper-iō, -ire, -ui, -ertum**, open, expose.  
**cēd-ō, -ere, cessī, cessum**, go, go away;  
 give way, yield, retreat.  
**cōnfert-us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [*perf. part. of*  
**cōnferciō**, crowd together], dense, thick,  
 compact, stuffed.  
**con-iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [*co + iaciō*,  
 throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.  
**diligenter**, *adv.* [*diligēns*, careful],  
 carefully; with exactness, pains, or care.  
**ē-gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [*gradior*,  
 step], come forth, depart; march out,  
 make a sortie; disembark.  
**ex-cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [*cēdō*,  
 go], go out, go away, withdraw, retire.  
**impet-us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.  
**lat-us, -eris, n.**, side; wing or flank of an army.  
**necesse, indecl. adj.**, necessary, unavoidable,  
 indispensable.  
**nūdō, 1** [*nūdus*, bare], strip, uncover, make  
 bare or naked, expose.

**observō, 1** [*servō*, give heed], observe,  
 mark, watch; regard, obey; celebrate.  
**orb-is, -is, m.**, orb, ring, circle; **orbis**  
**terrārum**, the world.  
**prae-ceptum, -ī, n.** [*praecipio*, instruct],  
 instruction, injunction, command.  
**quispiam, quidpiam and quispiam,**  
**quaequam, quodpiam, indef. pron.** (App.  
 §62), anyone, any.  
**re-fugio, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitum** [*re +*  
*fugio*, flee], flee back, retreat; escape.  
**re-vertor, -verti, -versus sum** [*re + vertō*,  
 turn], turn back, come back, return.  
**rūrsus, adv.** [*for reversus, from revertō*,  
 turn back], again, back, anew; in turn.  
**sīn, conj.**, if however, but if.  
**stō, stāre, steti, stātum**, stand, abide by.  
**unde, adv.**, from which place, whence.  
**vėl-ōx, -ōcis, adj.**, swift, rapid, speedy.  
**vītō, 1**, avoid, shun, evade, escape.

1. **Quō . . . observātō** = *et eō . . . observātō*;  
 see App. §173, *a.*; *abl. absolute*; see App. §150.

1–2. **cum . . . fēcerat**: clause of repeated  
 action with the *ind.*; see App. §241, *b.*

3. **partem**: *acc.* subject of the *pres. pass.*  
*inf.* **nūdārī**, which is itself the *nom.* subject  
 of **erat**; see App. §§276–278.

4. **recipī**: supply *necesse erat*, which has  
 been ellipted.

5. **erant**: the unexpressed subject will be  
 the Roman soldiers who attempt to attack.

6. **eis** = *hostibus*.

**sīn autem**: “but if, on the other hand”; *i.e.*,  
 in contrast to what was just described.

7. **vellent**: *impf. subjunctive* in a past con-  
 trary to fact condition; see App. §254, *a.* They  
 may have tried to maintain their ground, but  
 they could not. It was too hard.

**virtūtī**: *dat.* of purpose; see App. §119.

8. **cōnferti**: *nom. pl.* in agreement with the  
 unexpressed subject of **poterant**, *i.e.*, the Ro-  
 man soliders.

- 10 *Tamen tot incommodis cōfliktātī, multīs vulneribus acceptīs resistēbant et magnā parte diēi cōsūmptā, cum ā primā lūce ad hōram octāvam pugnārētur, nihil quod ipsīs esset indignum committēbant.*

**com•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -misum**

[mittō, send], join; commit (*a crime*), do; allow; entrust.

**cōfliktō, 1** [*frequentative of cōnfligō*],

strike together; *in the pass.*: be distressed.

**cōn•sūmō, -sūmere, -sūmpsī, -sūmptum**

[sūmō, take], take together or all at once: devour, consume, destroy; use up, waste, pass.

**hōr•a, -ae, f.**, hour. *There were twenty-four hours in the Roman day, but they divided those hours into twelve hours of light and twelve hours of darkness (between sunrise and sunset). Except at the equinoxes, the hours were thus not of equal length, and varied according to the season.*

**incommod•um, -ī, n.** [*incommodus*,

inconvenient], inconvenience, disadvantage, trouble; disaster, defeat, loss, injury.

**indign•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*in + dignus*, worthy], unworthy, disgraceful.

**lūx, lūcis, f.**, light, daylight; **primā lūce**, at dawn.

**octāv•us, -a, -um, adj.**, *ord. num. adj.* [*octō*, eight], eighth.

**re•sistō, -sistere, -stiti, —** [*sistō*, stand], stand back, remain behind, halt, stand still; withstand, resist, oppose.

**tot, indecl. adj.**, so many.

**vuln•us, -eris, n.**, a wound.

**9. cōfliktātī**: nom. pl. in agreement with the unexpressed subject of **resistēbant**, i.e. the Roman soldiers.

**multis . . . acceptīs**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**10. magnā . . . cōsūmptā**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**11. ad hōram octāvam**: daylight was divided into twelve equal hours, noon was the sixth hour, and the twelfth hour was sunset, so the eighth hour would represent midafternoon.

**quod . . . esset**: rel. clause of characteristic; see App. §230.

**ipsīs**: dat. of reference; see App. §120.

- 15 *Tum Titō Balventiō, quī superiōre annō primum pīlum dūxerat, virō fortī et magnae auctōritātis, utrumque femur trāgulā traicitur; Quīntus Lūcānius, eiusdem ordinis, fortissimē pugnāns, dum circumventō filiō subvenit, interficitur; Lūcius Cotta lēgātus omnēs cohortēs ordinēsque adhortāns in adversum ōs fundā vulnerātur.*

**adhortor**, 1 [**hortor**, encourage], encourage, incite.

**adversus**, *prep. with acc.* [**adversus**, turned against], opposite to, against.

**auctori-tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**auctor**, producer], influence, authority.

**fem-ur, -oris or -inis**, *n.*, the thigh.

**fil-ius, -i**, *m.*, son.

**fort-is, -e**, *adj.*, strong, brave.

**fund-a, -ae**, *f.*, slingshot.

**Lūci-us, -i**, *m.*; **Cott-a, -ae**, *m.*, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, *one of Caesar's lieutenants*.

**ōs, ōris**, *n.*, mouth; face, countenance.

**pil-us, -i**, *m.*, century of soldiers; **primus**

**pīlus**, first century of a legion; **primi pili**

**centuriō or primipilus**, the centurion of the first century, the chief centurion.

**Quīnt-us, -i**, *m.*; **Lūcā-nius, -i**, *m.*, Quintus Lucanius, *a centurion*.

**sub-veniō, -venire, -vēnī, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come or go to help, aid, succor.

**Tit-us, -i**, *m.*; **Balven-tius, -ti**, *m.*, Titus Balventius, *one of Caesar's centurions*.

**trāgul-a, -ae**, *f.*, a javelin, spear, or dart used by the Gauls.

**tra-iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl across; pierce, transfix.

**vulnerō**, 1 [**vulnus**, wound], wound.

**14. magnae auctōritātis**: gen. of description; see App. §100.

**16. circumventō**: “who had been surrounded”; the part. takes the place of a subordinate clause; see App. §283.

**17–18. in adversum ōs**: “directly in the face.”

- [5.36] *His rēbus permōtus Quīntus Titūrius, cum procul Ambiorīgem suōs cohortantem cōspexisset, interpretem suum Gnaeum Pompēium ad eum mittit rogātum ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellātus respondit: sī velit sēcum colloquī, licēre; spērāre ā multītūdine impetrārī posse, quod ad militum salūtē pertineat; ipsī vērō nihil nocitum irī, inque eam rem sē suam fidem interpōnere.*

**appellō, -āre**, 1, call, name, call by name.  
**cohortor**, 1 [co + hortor, encourage], encourage greatly, cheer, animate.  
**cōn•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum** [speciō, look], look at, discern, perceive.  
**eō, ire, -iī (ivī), itum** (App. §84), go, proceed, march, pass.  
**fid•ēs, -ei, f.** [fidō, confide], faith; pledge; trustworthiness; allegiance, protection.  
**Gnae•us, -i, m.; Pompē•ius, -i, m.**, Gnaeus Pompeius, an interpreter who served under Quintus Titurius Sabinus.  
**impetrō**, 1, obtain (by request), accomplish;  
**impetrāre ā (ab)**, gain permission from.  
**inter•pōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum** [pōnō, put], interpose; **fidem**  
**interpōnere**, pledge.  
**interpr•es, -etis, m. or f.**, interpreter; mediator.

**licet, licēre, licuit and licitum est, impers.**, it is permitted.  
**noceō, nocēre, nocuī, nocitum**, harm, injure, hurt.  
**parcō, parcere, peperci, parsus** [parcus, frugal], be frugal; spare, do not harm.  
**per•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [moveō, move], move thoroughly; influence.  
**procul**, adv., far off, from afar, in the distance, at a distance.  
**Quīnt•us, -i, m.**, Quintus; **Titūr•ius, -i, m.**, Titurius Sabinus, Caesar's lieutenant.  
**re•spondeō, -spondēre, -spondi, -sponsum** [re + spondeō, promise], reply, answer.  
**rogō**, 1, ask.  
**spērō**, 1 [spēs, hope], hope, anticipate.  
**vērō**, adv. [vērus, true], truly; but, however.

2. **suōs cohortantem**: “who was encouraging his men”; the part. takes the place of a subordinate clause; see App. §283.

3. **suum**: “his” in reference not to Ambiorix, but to the subject of the verb that governs the direct object (**interpretem . . . Pompēium**) of the verb **mittit**, i.e., Titurius Sabinus.

**ad eum** = Ambiorīgem.

**rogātum**: “in order to request”; on this use of the supine, see App. §295.

4. **sī velit**: a condition in indirect statement; see App. §272.

5. **licēre**: Caesar has omitted the subject of the inf. in indirect statement after **respondit**. We may supply *id*.

**spērāre**: supply *sē* as the acc. subject referring to the unexpressed subject of **respondit**, i.e., Ambiorix.

**multītūdine** = Ambiorix's men, whom he claims not to be able to control against their will.

**posse**: again, Caesar omits an acc. subject in indirect statement, so we may supply an *id*, which will also serve as the antecedent of **quod**. The effect of so much ellipsis is quite clipped.

6. **ipsī** = *Titūrīō Sabinō*; dat. of reference; see App. §120.

**nihil nocitum irī**: “no harm would be done”; note the use in indirect statement of the fut. pass. inf., a form Latin teachers customarily tell their students not to worry about because they will never see it—except, of course, when they do, so enjoy! See also App. §205, b.

7. **sē**: note the late, and thus rather dramatic, appearance of the previously ellipted acc. subject. Latin can “gap” in advance. This is something English speakers rarely do.

- 10 *Ille cum Cottā sauciō commūnicat, sī videātur, pugnā ut  
excēdant et cum Ambiorīge ūnā colloquantur: spērāre ab eō dē  
suā ac militum salūte impetrārī posse. Cotta sē ad armātum  
hostem itūrum negat atque in eō persevērat.*

**armō**, 1 [**arma**, arms], arm, equip; *pass.*, arm oneself; **armātus**, *perf. part.*, as *adj.*, armed; **armāti**, as *noun*, armed men.  
**commūnicō**, 1 [**commūnis**, common], make common, communicate, impart, share.  
**Cott•a**, -ae, *m.*, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.  
**eō**, **īre**, **ii** (**ivī**), **itum** (App. §84), go, proceed, march, *pass.*  
**ex•cēdō**, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum [**cēdō**, go], go out, go away, withdraw, retire.

**impetrō**, 1, obtain (*by request*), accomplish, succeed in obtaining (*one's request*);  
**impetrāre ā** (**ab**), gain permission from, persuade.  
**negō**, 1, say no, refuse, say . . . not.  
**persevērō**, 1, persist, persevere.  
**sauci•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, wounded.  
**spērō**, 1 [**spēs**, hope], hope, hope for, anticipate.

8. **Ille** = *Titūrius Sabinus*.  
**sī videātur**: "whether it seemed appropriate"; indirect question; see App. §264, *b*.  
**pugnā**: *abl.* of separation; see App. §134.  
9. **spērāre**: some manuscripts supply a *sē* to serve as the *acc.* subject of the *inf.* in indirect statement after **commūnicat**. Supply one as well, even if we do not print one.

- ab eō** = *ab Ambiorīge*.  
10. **posse**: because its complementary *inf.* **impetrārī** is *pass.*, supply the equivalent of *id* as the unexpressed *acc.* subject of **posse** in indirect statement dependent on **spērāre**.  
11. **itūrum**: *fut. active inf.* without *esse* in indirect statement dependent on **negat**.  
**in eō**: "in this (refusal)."



[5.37] Sabinus *quōs in praesentiā tribūnōs militum circum sē habēbat et primōrum ordinum centuriōnēs sē sequī iubet et, cum propius Ambiorīgem accessisset, iussus arma abicere imperātum facit suisque ut idem faciant imperat. Interim, dum*  
 5 *dē condiōnibus inter sē agunt longiorque cōsultō ab Ambiorīge instituitur sermō, paulātim circumventus interficitur.*

**abic•iō, -ere, abiēcī, abiectum** [iaciō,

throw. See §App. 7.], throw away or down; hurl.

**ac•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [ad + cēdō, go], approach, come near to, arrive at, come to; to be added.

**ag•ō, -ere, ēgī, actum**, set in motion, drive (*animals*); move forward, advance (*military works*); do, transact, carry on (*business*); discuss, speak.

**centuri•ō, -ōnis, m.** [centum, hundred], centurion, the commander of the century, a unit corresponding to one-sixtieth of a legion.

**circum**, prep. with acc. [circus, circle], around, about, near.

**condici•ō, -ōnis, f.**, condition, state; agreement, stipulation, terms.

**cōsult•um, -ī, n.** [cōsulō, take counsel], result of deliberation; decree, enactment, decision; plan.

**imperō**, 1 [in + parō, procure], demand from; order, instruct, rule.

**in•stituō, -stituire, -stitui, -stitūtum**

[statuō, set up], set up or put in order, draw up; train, educate; procure, prepare; build, construct; begin, determine, decide upon, adopt; **īnstitūtus**, perf. part. as adj. (in addition to the definitions above): usual, customary; finished.

**paulātim**, adv. [paulus, little], little by little, by degrees, gradually.

**prae•senti•a, -ae, f.** [praesum, be present], presence; the present moment; **in praesentiā**, for the present; then.

**propius**, adv. and prep. with acc. (App. §122, b.) [prope, near], nearer.

**Sabin•us, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum**, follow, pursue; accompany.

**serm•ō, -ōnis, m.**, conversation, interview, speech.

**tribūn•us, -ī, m.** [tribus, tribe], tribune; **tribūnus militum or militāris**, a military tribune.

1–2. **quōs . . . tribūnōs . . . habēbat et . . . centuriōnēs . . . sequī iubet**: what we might expect as the antecedent of **quōs** (i.e., **tribūnōs**) has been placed inside the rel. clause (as a direct object of **habēbat**). The reader may thus supply an ellipted *eōs* to serve both as the antecedent of **quōs** and as one of the two acc. subjects of **sequī** (the complementary inf. of **iubet**). But the reader should also be aware that what comes after **et** might also be construed with **habēbat** as a direct object rather than with **sequī** as an acc. subject, in which instance *eōs* would serve as our only subject of **sequī** (unless, that is, one construed the whole clause introduced

by **quōs** as the subject without supplying what seems ellipted to us). In all events, the simplest strategy will be to supply *eōs* before **quōs**, and to enjoy the subtle puzzles of Latin syntax. See also PARENTHESIS, App. §301, *e*.

4. **imperātum**: “what had been commanded”; see App. §283.

5. **cōsultō**: abl. of accordance (manner); see App. §142, *a*.

5–6. **longior . . . sermō**: HYPERBATON; see App. §302, *f*.

**agunt . . . interficitur**: note the shift to the historical pres. (App. §190, *a*) at the climax of the action.

- Tum vērō suō mōre victōriam conclāmant atque ululātum tollunt impetūque in nostrōs factō ordinēs perturbant. Ibi Lūcius Cotta pugnāns interficitur cum maximā parte militum.*
- 10 *Reliquī sē in castra recipiunt unde erant ēgressī. Ex quibus Lūcius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magnā multitudīne hostium premerētur, aquilam intrā vāllum prōiēcit; ipse prō castris fortissimē pugnāns occiditur.*

**aquil•a, -ae, f.**, an eagle; a military standard.

**aquilī•fer, -ferī, m.** [**aquila**, eagle + **ferō**, carry] standard-bearer.

**conclāmō, -i** [**clāmō**, shout], shout out, call aloud, yell.

**ē•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [**gradior**, step], come forth, depart; march out, make a sortie; disembark.

**fort•is, -e, adj.**, strong, brave.

**ibi, adv.**, there, in that place.

**impet•us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.

**intrā, prep. with acc.** [**inter**, between], within, inside, into.

**Lūci•us, -ī, m.**; **Cott•a, -ae, m.**, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Lūci•us, -ī, m.**; **Petrosid•ius, -ī, m.**, Lucius Petrosidius, a standard-bearer in Caesar's army.

**mōs, mōris, m.**, manner, custom, practice.

**oc•cidō, -cidere, -cisi, -cīsum** [**caedō**, cut], cut down, kill.

**perturbō, -i** [**turbō**, disturb], disturb greatly, throw into confusion; terrify.

**prō•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], throw forward or away; throw, cast.

**tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātum**, lift up, elevate, raise.

**ululāt•us, -ūs, m.**, yell, shriek.

**unde, adv.**, from which place, whence.

**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [**vāllus**, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**vērō, adv.** [**vērus**, true], truly; but, however.

**8. impetū . . . factō:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**nostrōs:** "our men."

**9. parte:** abl. of accompaniment; see App. §140.

**militum:** partitive gen.; see App. §101.

**10. Ex quibus** = *et ex eis* (see App. §173, *a*; and, for the use of **ex**, §101, *a*).

**11. magnā multitudīne:** although it consisted of human beings, the crowd did not make its own decisions. Rather than abl. of agent, we thus find an abl. of manner; see App. §142. One might also argue for abl. of means, but then we would need to think of Ambiorix

employing the crowd as his instrument or tool, but Ambiorix is absent from the narrative at this point. We focus instead on individual Roman soldiers adrift in a sea of troubles.

**11–12. cum . . . premerētur:** subjunctive in a causal clause; see App. §§238–239.

**12. aquilam:** the standard-bearer protects the eagle as best he can and to the death. Such an event would have signalled to a Roman audience the utmost dedication and bravery that Romans expected from their soldiers. Even in disastrous defeat, Caesar paints a portrait that will make his Roman readers proud to be Roman.

- 15 *Illī aegrē ad noctem oppugnātiōnem sustinent; noctū ad ūnum  
omnēs dēspērātā salūte sē ipsī interficiunt. Paucī ex proeliō ēlapsī  
incertīs itineribus per silvās ad Titum Labiēnum lēgātum in  
hiberna perveniunt atque eum dē rēbus gestīs certiōrem faciunt.*

**ae•ger, -gra, -grum, adj.**, sick, ill.

**dēspērō, 1 [spērō, hope]**, despair, be hopeless, lack confidence; **dēspērātus, perf. part.:** despaired of; *as adj.:* desperate.

**ē•lābor, -lābī, -lāpsus sum [lābor, slip]**, slip away, escape.

**incert•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in + certus**, decided], undecided, uncertain, untrustworthy; indefinite; disordered.

**pauc•i, -ae, -a, adj.**, few; *as noun:* few persons or things.

**silv•a, -ae, f.**, forest, woods, a wood.

**Tit•us, -ī, m.; Labiēn•us, -ī, m.**, Titus Atius Labienus, Caesar's most trusted lieutenant in the Gallic War. During the Civil War, Labienus fought on Pompey's side, and died in battle against Caesar in Munda (in Spain) in 45 BCE.

**14. Illī = militēs Rōmānī.**

**ad ūnum:** "to a man."

**15. dēspērātā salūte:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**sē . . . interficiunt:** unlike moderns (who almost universally condemn it), Romans sometimes admired suicide. Roman religion did not forbid the practice, and Romans themselves assessed its moral value according to the context in which it occurred. To choose death over slavery and the inevitable humiliation of their status as Roman soldiers would have been considered an honorable choice, although even Caesar cannot avoid representing this as what it was: a total disaster and humiliating defeat. What Caesar

could do in his narrative, he did: he excused himself, he praised his soldiers, and he placed all the blame squarely on Titurius Sabinus, and, to a lesser extent, on Aurunculeius Cotta, who gave way to Sabinus.

**Paucī:** *i.e., militēs.*

**16. Titum Labiēnum:** because Titus Labienus knew what happened to Sabinus and Cotta, any actions he subsequently took will, in Caesar's readers' minds, be less the result of Labienus's superior military skills and more the result of his better information. Cicero, on the other hand, will have to face the same dilemma that Sabinus and Cotta confronted.

**17. dē rēbus gestīs:** "about what had happened."

[5.38] *Hāc victōriā sublātus Ambiorīx statim cum equitātū in Aduātucōs, quī erant eius rēgnō finitimī, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit peditātumque subsequī iubet.*

**Aduātuc•ī, -ōrum, m.,** *a people in Belgic Gaul and neighbors of the Eburones, the Aduatici.*

**finitim•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**finis**, limit], bordering on, neighboring.

**inter•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum**

[**mittō**, send], send between; intervene, separate; cease, discontinue; delay, neglect, omit; let pass.

**peditāt•us, -ūs, m.** [**pedes**, foot soldier], foot soldiers, infantry.

**statim, adv.** [**stō**, stand], immediately.

**sub•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus** [**sequor**, follow], follow closely.

**tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātum**, lift, elevate; elate.

**1. Ambiorīx:** after ordering his infantry to follow as quickly as possible, Ambiorix rushes ahead with his cavalry first to the Aduatuci in

an effort to extend and support similar efforts against other Roman encampments. After his visit to the Aduatuci, he will go to the Nervii.

- 5 *Rē dēmōnstrātā Aduātucisque concitātis posterō diē in Nerviōs  
pervenit hortāturque, nē suī in perpetuum liberandī atque  
ulciscendī Rōmānōs prō eīs quās accēperint iniūriīs occāsiōnem  
dīmittant: interfec̄tōs esse lēgātōs duōs magnamque partem  
exercitūs interis̄se dēmōnstrat; nihil esse negōtī subitō oppressam  
legiōnem quae cum Cicerōne hiemet interficī; sē ad eam rem  
10 profitētur adiūtōrem. Facile hāc ōrātiōne Nerviīs persuādet.*

**adiūt•or, -ōris**, *m.* [adiuvō, aid], helper, assistant, abettor.

**Aduātuc•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, a people in Belgic Gaul, the Aduatuci.

**concitō**, 1 [citō, put in motion], stir up, rouse, instigate, incite.

**dēmōnstrō**, 1 [mōnstrō, show], point out, explain, describe; declare.

**dī•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum** [mittō, send], send away, dismiss; break up; let go, let pass, give up.

**hiemō**, 1 [hiems, winter], pass the winter, winter.

**hortor**, 1, exhort, encourage, incite, urge strongly.

**iniūri•a, -ae**, *f.* [in + iūs, right], wrong; outrage, damage, violence.

**inter•eō, -ire, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], perish, die.

**liberō**, 1 [liber, free], make or set free, release, deliver.

**negōt•ium, -i**, *n.* [neg- + otium, leisure], concern, business, undertaking; trouble,

difficulty, labor; **negōtium dare**, employ, direct; **quid negōtī**, what business; **nihil negōtī**, no difficulty.

**occāsi•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [occidō, fall, happen], occasion, opportunity.

**op•primō, -primere, -pressi, -pressus** [ob + premō, press], press down, oppress; destroy; surprise.

**ōrāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [ōrō, speak], speech, argument.

**perpetu•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, continuous; *n.* as noun in the phrase **in perpetuum**, forever.

**poster•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [post, after], after, following, next; *in m. pl.* as noun: posterity; *superl.*: **postrēmus** or **postumus**, last.

**pro•fiteor, -fitērī, -fessus sum** [fateor, confess], admit, acknowledge, declare, offer.

**subitō**, *adv.* [subitus, sudden], suddenly.

**ulciscor, ulciscī, ultus sum**, avenge; punish, take vengeance on.

**4. Rē . . . concitātis**: “After the news (of his victory) was related and the Aduatuci were stirred up.” Note how the two abl. absolutes connected by *-que* efficiently dispense with Ambiorix’s business among the Aduatuci; see App. §150.

**diē**: abl. of time; see App. §152.

**5–7. nē . . . dīmittant**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of desire or purpose (or indirect command); see App. §228.

**5–6. suī . . . liberandī atque ulciscendī Rōmānōs . . . occāsiōnem**: “opportunity for liberating themselves . . . and punishing the Romans . . .” The syntax is harsh, combining a gerundive (**liberandī**) with a gerund (**ulciscendī**) that takes a direct object; see

App. §§287–289. Note also the **HYPERBATON**; see App. §302, *f.*

**6. eīs . . . iniūriīs**: **HYPERBATON** within **HYPERBATON**; see App. §302, *f.*

**8. nihil . . . negōtī**: “not a difficult task”; gen. of the whole; see App. §101.

**9. hiemet**: subjunctive in indirect statement; see App. §269.

**sē**: acc. subject of the infinitive *esse* (which has been ellipted, and thus must be supplied) in indirect statement dependent on **profitētur**.

**10. ōrātiōne**: abl. of means; see App. §143.

**Nerviīs**: dat. object of an intransitive verb; see App. §115.

- [5.39] Itaque cōnfestim dīmissīs nūntiīs *ad* Ceutronēs, Grudiōs, Levācōs, Pleumoxiōs, Geidumnōs, *quī omnēs sub eōrum imperiō sunt, quam maximās manūs possunt cōgunt et dē imprōvisō ad Cicerōnis hiberna* advolant nōndum *ad eum*  
 5 *fāmā dē Titūrī morte perlātā. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit* necesse, *ut nōnnūllī militēs, quī lignātiōnis mūnitiōnisque causā in silvās discessissent, repentīnō equitum adventū* interciperentur.

**advolō**, 1 [volō, fly], fly to or against, rush on or at.

**Ceutron•ēs, -um**, *m.*, the Ceutrones: (1) a Belgic people subject to the Nervii or (2) a people living in the eastern part of the Roman Province.

**cōnfestim**, *adv.*, hastily, at once, immediately.

**dī-mittō, -mittere, -misi, -misum** [mittō, send], send in different directions, send away, send off.

**fām•a, -ae**, *f.* [fāri, to speak], common talk, rumor, report, reputation, fame.

**Geidumn•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Geidumni, a people of Belgic Gaul, clients of the Nervii.

**Grudi•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Grudii, a Belgic people near the Nervii.

**imper•ium, -ī**, *n.* [imperō, order], right to command; authority; jurisdiction; supreme, highest official power.

**imprōvisō**, *adv.* [imprōvisus, unforeseen], unexpectedly, without warning.

**inter•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpi, -ceptum** [ad + capiō, take], take or catch between (one point and another); interrupt; intercept; cut off.

**itaque**, *conj.* [ita, so], and so, therefore, accordingly.

**Levāc•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Levaci, a Gallic tribe between the rivers Marne and Moselle.

**lignāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [lignum, wood], the procuring of wood, collecting of wood.

**mūniti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [mūniō, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.

**necesse**, *indecl. adj.*, necessary, unavoidable, indispensable.

**nōndum**, *adv.* [nōn + dum], not yet.

**nōnnūll•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [nōn + nūllus, none], some, several.

**nūntius, -ī**, *m.*, messenger; message, news, report.

**per•ferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum** [ferō, carry], bear or carry through, convey, deliver; announce, report; submit to, endure, suffer.

**Pleumoxi•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Pleumoxii.

**quoque**, *conj.*, following the word emphasized, also, too, likewise.

**repentīn•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [repēns, sudden], sudden, unexpected, hasty.

**silv•a, -ae**, *f.*, forest, woods, a wood.

**sub**, *prep. with abl.*, of position, under, beneath.

1–2. **cōnfestim dīmissīs nūntiīs . . .**

**Geidumnōs**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

3. **eōrum** = *Nerviōrum*.

**quam maximās manūs possunt**: “armed forces as large as possible”; see App. §161, *a*; PARENTHESIS; see App. §301, *e*.

4–5. **nōndum . . . fāmā . . . perlātā**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

5. **Huic** = *Quintō Tullio Cicerōni*, the commander of the winter quarters (and the orator Marcus’s brother).

**quod** = *id, quod*.

6–8. **ut . . . interciperentur**: subjunctive in a substantive clause of result (see App. §229, *b*) in apposition with “that which was necessary” by way of further explanation.

6–7. **quī . . . discessissent**: subjunctive in a rel. clause of purpose; see App. §225, 1.

- 10 *His circumventis magnā manū Eburōnēs, Nervii, Aduātucī atque hōrum omnium socii et clientēs legiōnem oppugnāre incipiunt. Nostrī celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vāllum cōnscendunt. Aegrē is diēs sustentātur, quod omnem spem hostēs in celeritatē pōnēbant atque hanc adepti victōriam in perpetuum sē fore victōrēs cōfidēbant.*

**ad•ipīscor, -ipīscī, -eptus sum**, attain to, gain.

**Aduātuc•ī, -ōrum, m.**, a people in Belgic Gaul, the Aduaticī.

**ae•ger, -gra, -grum, adj.**, sick, ill.

**celeriter, adv.** [**celer**, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp.*: **celerius**; *superl.*:

**celerrimē** (App. §40).

**cliēs, clientis, m., f.** [**clueō**, hear, obey], client, vassal, dependent, retainer.

**con•currō, -currere, -cursī, -cursum** [**currō**, run], run or rush together; hurry, run, rush; run to the rescue; come, gather.

**cōn•fidō, -fidere, -fisi, -fisum** [**fidō**, trust. App. §74], rely on, feel confident, hope.

**cōn•scendō, -scendere, -scendi, -scēsum** [**scandō**, climb], climb, mount; go on board, embark.

**Eburōn•ēs, -um, m.**, the Eburones, a Belgic people who in 54 BCE destroyed troops under the command of Sabinus and Cotta. Afterward, Caesar almost exterminated them.

**in•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum** [**ad** + **capiō**, take], undertake; begin, commence.

**oppugnō, 1** [**ob** + **pugnō**, fight], fight against, attack, besiege.

**perpetu•us, -a, -um, adj.**, continuous; *n. as noun in the phrase in perpetuum*, forever.

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum**, place, put, place over; lay down, set aside; station, post; regard, consider; make, build; *with castra*, pitch; *pass.*: be situated; *with in and the abl.*, depend on, in addition to the above meanings.

**soc•ius, -ī, m.** [*compare sequor*, follow], companion, ally.

**sustent•ō, 1** [*freq. of sus-tineō*, hold up], sustain; hold out; withstand.

**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [**vāllus**, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**vict•or, -ōris, m.** [**vīncō**, conquer], conqueror, victor; *as adj.*, victorious.

**9. His**: “these (Roman soldiers in Cicero’s winter encampment).”

**His circumventis**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**manū**: abl. of means; see App. §143.

**11. Nostrī**: “our men.”

**12. diēs**: Caesar personifies the day when it was actually the soldiers who had to sustain

the fight for an entire day; PERSONIFICATION see App. §302, *h.*

**13. hanc adepti victōriam**: “if they gained this victory”; see App. §283.

**fore**: *fore* is an alternative form for *futurus esse*, the fut. active inf. of *esse*.

[5.40] *Mittuntur ad Caesarem cōnfestim ab Cicerōne litterae magnīs prōpositis praemiīs, sī pertulissent: obsessīs omnībūs viīs missī intercipiuntur. Noctū ex māteriā, quam mūnitiōnis causā comportāverant, turrēs admodum CXX excitantur incrēdibili celeritātē; quae deesse operī vidēbantur, perficiuntur.*

**admodum**, *adv.* [**modus**, measure], literally: up to the measure; very much, very; with numbers, fully; with negative, at all.

**comportō**, 1 [**portō**, carry], carry together, collect, bring.

**cōnfestim**, *adv.*, hastily, at once, immediately.

**CXX**, sign for *centum et vīginti*, one hundred twenty (see also App. §47).

**dē-sum**, -esse, -fuī, — [**sum**, be. App. §66], be lacking, be absent from, fail.

**excitō**, 1 [**citō**, rouse], construct (towers).

**incrēdibil-is**, -e, *adj.* [**in** + **crēdibilis**, believable], unbelievable, incredible, unlikely; extraordinary.

**inter-cipio**, -cipere, -cēpi, -ceptum [**ad** + **cipio**, take], take or catch between (one point and another); interrupt; intercept; cut off.

**māteri-a**, -ae, *f.*, wood, timber.

**mūniti-o**, -ōnis, *f.* [**mūnio**, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.

**ob-sideō**, -sidēre, -sēdi, -sessum [**sedeō**, sit], sit in the way of, obstruct, besiege, blockade.

**op-us**, -eris, *n.*, work, labor; military work or works, fortifications, defenses; a work of engineering or architecture; **nātūrā et opere**, by nature and art.

**per-ferō**, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum [**ferō**, carry], bear or carry through, convey, deliver; announce, report; submit to, endure, suffer.

**per-ficiō**, -ficere, -fēci, -fectum [**faciō**, make, do], finish; build; accomplish.

**praem-ium**, -i, *n.*, distinction, prize, reward.

**prō-pōnō**, -pōnere, -posui, -positum [**pōnō**, put], place or put forward, present, offer; relate, tell of, explain; purpose, propose; expose.

**2. magnīs . . . praemiīs**: abl. absolute; see App. §150. The rewards were offered not to Caesar, but to messengers, who are not mentioned, but who are the obvious choice for carrying messages. Caesar keeps the narrative clipped by omitting what would have been obvious to his readers.

**sī** (*nūntiū eās litterās*) **pertulissent**: plupf. subjunctive in the protasis (if-clause) of a condition in indirect statement that represents what would have been a fut. perf. ind. in a

future more vivid condition in direct statement; see App. §256.

**obsessīs . . . viīs**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**3. missī**: “those (messengers who had been) sent”; see App. §283.

**4–5. incrēdibili celeritātē**: abl. of manner; see App. §142.

**5. quae** = *et ea, quae*.

**operī**: dat. with a compound verb; see App. §116.



10 *Hostēs posterō diē multō maiōribus coāctis cōpiīs castra oppugnant, fossam complent. Eādem ratiōne, quā pridiē, ab nostrīs resistitur. Hoc idem reliquīs deinceps fit diēbus. Nūlla pars nocturnī temporis ad labōrem intermittitur; nōn aegrīs, nōn vulnerātis facultās quiētis datur.*

**ae•ger, -gra, -grum**, *adj.*, sick, ill.

**com•pleō, -plēre, -plēvi, -plētum** [*obs.*:

**pleō**, fill], fill up; complete; cover.

**deinceps**, *adv.*, one after the other, in turn, successively.

**facul•tās, -tātis**, *f.* [facilis, easy], power; opportunity; resources.

**foss•a, -ae**, *f.* [*perf. part. of fodiō*, dig], trench, ditch, which was dug around a Roman camp.

**inter•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -misum** [mittō, send], cease, discontinue; delay, neglect, omit; let pass.

**lab•or, -ōris**, *m.*, toil, effort, striving, hardship.

**maior, maius**, *adj.* [*comp. of magnus*, large], larger.

**nocturn•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [nox, night], at night, nocturnal, nightly.

**nūll•us, -a, -um**, *gen. nūllius*, *adj.* [ne- + ūllus, any], not any, no.

**oppugnō**, 1 [ob + pugnō, fight], fight against, attack, besiege.

**poster•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [post, after], after, following, next; *in m. pl. as noun*: posterity; *superl.*: **postrēmus** or **postumus**, last.

**pridiē**, *adv.* [diēs, day], on the day before.

**qui•ēs, -ētis**, *f.*, quiet, rest, repose.

**rati•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [reor, reckon], plan, strategy; method; manner, way.

**re•sistō, -sistere, -stiti**, — [sistō, stand], stand back, remain behind, halt, stand still; withstand, resist, oppose.

**vulnerō**, 1 [vulnus, wound], wound.

**6. multō . . . cōpiīs**: “after they had gathered far larger forces”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**7. quā pridiē** (*resistitur*): the verb has been ellipted from the subordinate clause, but can be supplied from the main clause. Unlike

Latin, English generally does not permit such “gapping” in advance.

**8. reliquīs . . . diēbus**: “on all the other days”; abl. of time; see App. §152.

**10. vulnerātis**: “to those (who had been) wounded”; see App. §283.

- Quaecumque *ad proximī diēi oppugnātiōnem* opus sunt noctū comparantur; *multae praeustae* sudēs, *magnus mūrālium pīlōrum numerus* instituitur; *turrēs* contabulantur, *pinnae lōricaeque ex crātibus* attexuntur. *Ipsē Cicerō, cum tenuissimā*  
 15 *valētūdine esset, nē nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quiētem relinquēbat, ut ultrō militum concursū ac vōcibus sibi parcere cōgerētur.*

**at•texō, -texere, -texuī, -textum** [ad + **texō**, weave], weave on.  
**comparō**, 1 [parō, prepare], prepare; acquire, prepare for.  
**concur•us, -ūs, m.** [concurrō, run], a running together, attack, onset; collision.  
**contabulō**, 1 [tabula, board], floor over, build in multiple stories, build up.  
**crāt•es, -is, f.**, wickerwork.  
**in•stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitūtum** [stātuō, set up], set up or put in order; procure, prepare; build, construct.  
**lōric•a, -ae, f.**, coat of mail; parapet, breastwork; deflective wall or screen (for a tower).  
**mūrāl•is, -e, adj.** [mūrus, wall], pertaining to a wall, mural; **mūrāle pīlum**, mural javelin, a heavy javelin that was thrown from the top of a wall.  
**nē . . . quidem** (enclosing the emphatic word), not even.  
**nocturn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [nox, night], at night, nocturnal, nightly.  
**opus, indecl. noun, n.** [cf. opus, work, deed], need, necessity; **opus est**, it is necessary, there is need, the thing needed is expressed either by the nom. or the abl. (App. §146).

**parcō, parcere, peperci, parsus** [parcus, frugal], be frugal or economical; spare, do not injure or harm.  
**pīl•um, -i, n.**, heavy javelin, pike.  
**pinn•a, -ae, f.**, feather; battlement, parapet.  
**prae•ūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ustum** [ūrō, burn], burn in front or at the end.  
**quicumque, quaecumque, quodcumque**, indef. (or generalizing) rel. pron., whoever, whatever; whosoever, whatsoever, any . . . whatever; everyone who, everything that.  
**quidem, adv.**, indeed, at any rate, at least, truly; on the other hand; **nē . . . quidem**, not even.  
**qui•ēs, -ētis, f.**, quiet, rest, repose.  
**sud•is, -is, f.**, heavy beam, pile, stake.  
**tenu•is, -e, adj.**, slim, thin; slight, insignificant; delicate.  
**ultrō, adv.**, voluntarily; besides, moreover.  
**valētūd•ō, -inis, f.** [valeō, be strong], health, poor health.  
**vōx, vōcis, f.**, voice; shout; word; *pl.*, words, language, variously translated according to context, as entreaties, complaints, tales, etc.

11. **Quaecumque** = *et ea, quaecumque*.

12. **praeustae**: burning the wood made it harder.

13–14. **instituitur . . . contabulantur . . . attexuntur**: Caesar provides an extensive list of “whatever was necessary” that the legions manufactured at night. Note also the ASYNDETON; see App. §301, a.

14–15. **cum . . . esset**: subjunctive in a concessive clause; see App. §238–239.

15. **valētūdine**: descriptive abl.; see App. §141.

16. **concursū ac vōcibus**: ablatives of means; see App. §143.

**sibi**: dat. object of an intransitive verb; see App. §115.

16–17. **ut . . . cōgerētur**: subjunctive in a clause of result; see App. §226.

- [5.41] Tunc ducēs prīncipēsque Nerviorū quī aliquem  
 sermōnis aditum *causamque* amicitiae cum Cicerōne habēbant  
 colloquī sēsē velle dīcunt. Factā potestāte eadem quae Ambiorix  
 cum Titūrīō ēgerat commemorant: omnem esse in armīs Galliam;  
 5 Germānōs Rhēnum trānsisse; Caesaris reliquōrumque hiberna  
 oppugnārī. Addunt etiam dē Sabīnī morte: Ambiorigem  
 ostentant fideī faciendae causā.

**ad•dō, -dere, -didi, -ditum** [dō, put], place  
 on, add.

**adit•us, -ūs, m.** [adeō, go to], approach,  
 means of approach, right to approach,  
 access.

**ag•ō, -ere, ēgī, actum**, set in motion,  
 drive (animals); move forward, advance  
 (military works); do, transact, carry on  
 (business); discuss, speak.

**amiciti•a, -ae, f.** [amicus, friend],  
 friendship.

**commemorō, 1** [memorō, call to mind],  
 remind one of; state, mention.

**dux, ducis, m.** [dūcō, lead], leader,  
 commander, general; guide.

**fid•ēs, -eī, f.** [fidō, confide], faith;  
 trustworthiness; allegiance, protection;  
 pledge; **fidem facere**, convince or give a  
 pledge.

**oppugnō, 1** [ob + pugnō, fight], fight  
 against, attack, besiege.

**ostentō, 1** [frequentative of ostendō, show],  
 show frequently; show, exhibit.

**potes•tās, -tātis, f.** [potēns, powerful],  
 power, ability, authority; control, sway,  
 rule; chance, opportunity, possibility;  
**potestātem facere**, grant permission,  
 give a chance.

**prīn•ceps, -cipis** [primus, first], chief, first;  
 as noun, chief or leader.

**Sabin•us, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus,  
 one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**serm•ō, -ōnis, m.**, conversation, interview,  
 speech.

**Titūr•ius, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus,  
 one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**trāns•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84],  
 cross; march through; migrate.

**tunc, adv.**, then, at that time, at this  
 juncture.

**1–2. aliquem sermōnis aditum:** “some  
 plausible grounds for an interview.” The lead-  
 ers of the Nervii will attempt to lure Cicero  
 into an ambush in the same way that Ambio-  
 rix tricked Sabinus.

**3. Factā potestāte:** abl. absolute; see App.  
 §150.

**4. omnem . . . Galliam:** acc. subject of  
 the inf. **esse** in indirect statement after **com-  
 memorant**. Note the **HYPERBATON**; see App.  
 §302, f.

**4–6. esse . . . trānsisse . . . oppugnārī:**  
 note the tense of the inf.s. The first and third  
 are present, and happening at that moment.  
 The second is perf., and has already taken  
 place. See App. §205.

**6. Addunt . . . dē:** “they add (words) con-  
 cerning” or “about.”

**7. fideī . . . causā:** gerundive with **causā** to  
 express purpose; see App. §§288, 291.

- 10 Errāre eōs dicunt, sī quicquam ab his praesidī spērent, quī suis  
rēbus diffidant; sēsē tamen hōc esse in Cicerōnem populumque  
Rōmānum animō, ut nihil nisi hiberna recūsant atque hanc  
inveterāscere cōsuētūdinem nōlint: licēre illis incolumibus  
per sē ex hibernis discēdere et quāscumque in partēs velint sine  
metū proficīscī.

**anim•us**, -ī, *m.*, mind; character; spirit, soul; courage.

**cōsuētūd•ō**, -inis, *f.*, [cōsuēscō, become accustomed], habit, custom, practice; “lifestyle.”

**dif•fidō**, -fidere, -fisi, -fismus [fidō, trust. App. §74], distrust, lack confidence, despair.

**errō**, 1, wander; err, be mistaken.

**incolum•is**, -e, *adj.*, unhurt, uninjured, safe and sound, unimpaired.

**in•veterāscō**, -veterāscere, -veterāvī, -veterātum, grow old; become established.

**licet**, licēre, licuit and licitum est, *impers.*, it is permitted.

**met•us**, -ūs, *m.* [metuō, fear], fear, dread, terror, anxiety, apprehension; **metū territāre**, terrify, terrorize; **hōc metū = metū huius rei**, from fear of this.

**nisi**, *conj.* [ne- + sī, if], if not, except, unless.

**nōlō**, nōlle, nōlui, — (App. §82) [ne- + volō, wish], not wish, be unwilling; refuse; *imp.* nōli or nōlite, with *inf.* (App. §219), do not.

**praesid•ium**, -ī, *n.*, [praesideō, guard], guard, garrison; safeguard, protection; fortification, stronghold; help, aid; safety.

**quicumque**, **quaecumque**, **quodcumque**, *indef.* (or generalizing) *rel. pron.*, whoever, whatever; whosoever, whatsoever, any . . . whatever; everyone who, everything that.

**quisquam**, **quicquam**, *indef. pron.* (App. §62), any, any person or thing.

**recūsō**, 1, refuse, reject; object to, make objections, complain; with **periculum**, shrink from.

**spērō**, 1 [spēs, hope], hope, hope for, anticipate.

**8. dicunt**: this main verb of speaking introduces three principal thoughts in indirect statement: **eōs** (Rōmānōs) **errāre**, **sēsē esse**, and (*id*) **licēre illis** (Rōmānīs). The rest of the subordinate clauses depend on these indirect statements.

**quicquam . . . praesidī**: partitive gen.; see App. §101.

**9. rēbus**: dat. indirect object of the intransitive verb **diffidant**; see App. §115.

**9–10. hōc . . . animō**: descriptive abl.; see App. §141.

**10–11. ut . . . recūsant atque . . . nōlint**: subjunctives in a clause of result; see App. §226. The subjects of both verbs are the Nervii.

**12. per sē**: “on their (i.e., Nervian) authority.”

- 15 *Cicerō ad haec ūnum modo respondit: nōn esse cōsuētūdinem populi Rōmānī accipere ab hoste armātō condiōnem: sī ab armīs discēdere velint, sē adiūtōre ūtantur lēgātōsque ad Caesarem mittant; spērāre prō eius iūstitiā, quae petierint, impetrātūrōs.*

**adiūt•or, -ōris, m.** [**adiuvō**, aid], helper, assistant, abettor.

**armō**, 1 [**arma**, arms], arm, equip; *pass.*, arm oneself; **armātus**, *perf. part.*, as *adj.*, armed; **armāti**, as *noun*, armed men.

**condici•ō, -ōnis, f.**, condition, state; agreement, stipulation, terms.

**cōsuētūd•ō, -inis, f.**, [**cōsuēsco**, become accustomed], habit, custom, practice; “lifestyle.”

**impetrō**, 1, obtain (*by request*), accomplish, succeed in obtaining (*one’s request*);

**impetrāre ā (ab)**, gain permission from, persuade.

**iūstiti•a, -ae, f.** [**iustus**, just], justice, fair dealing, uprightness.

**modo**, *adv.* [**modus**, measure], *with measure or limit*; only; just, at least, but; *of time*, just now.

**re•spondeō, -spondēre, -spondi, -sponsum** [**re** + **spondeō**, promise], reply, answer.

**spērō**, 1 [**spēs**, hope], hope, hope for, anticipate.

**14. Cicerō:** Quintus Cicero, the brother of the famous orator and consul of 63 BCE, is singled out for praise as a true Roman. Note too how he replies with “just one answer” (**ūnum modo**) to their “various points” (**haec**), although “this one answer” is then elaborated.

**15–16. sī . . . velint:** a general condition in indirect statement. See App. §§253, 272.

**16. adiūtōre:** “as helper”; in apposition with **sē**. See App. §97.

**17. spērāre:** supply **sē** (referring to Cicero) as the subject of this inf. in indirect statement after **respondit**.

**18. eius = Caesaris.**

**quae:** supply *ea* as the unexpressed antecedent.

**petierint = petiverint.** See App. §72.

**impetrātūrōs:** this fut. active inf. with *esse* omitted depends in indirect statement on **spērāre**. Its subject (*eōs Nerviōs*) has been omitted. Its object is the unexpressed antecedent *ea* of **quae petierint**.

- [5.42] *Ab hāc spē repulsī Nervii vāllō pedum IX et fossā pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum annōrum cōnsuetūdine ab nōbīs cognōverant et, quōs clam dē exercitū habēbant captivōs, ab eis docēbantur; sed nūllā ferrāmentōrum cōpiā quae esset ad*  
 5 *hunc ūsum idōnea, gladiīs caespitēs circumcīdere, manibus sagulisque terram exhaurīre vidēbantur.*

**caesp•es, -itis, m.,** sod, turf.

**captiv•us, -a, -um, adj.** [capiō, take],

prisoner, captive.

**cing•ō, -ere, cinxī, cinctum,** encircle, surround, invest, encompass; man (a wall).

**circumcīd•ō, -ere, -ī, circumcīsum** [circum, around + caedō, cut], cut around, cut off, cut; isolate.

**clam, adv.,** secretly.

**cōnsuetūd•ō, -inis, f.,** [cōnsuēscō, become accustomed], habit, custom, practice; “lifestyle.”

**doceō, docēre, docuī, docitum,** show, teach, instruct, inform.

**ego, meī** (App. §51), *first pers. pron.*, I, me; *pl. nōs*, we, us, etc.

**ex•hauriō, -haurīre, -hausī, -haustum** [hauriō, drain], draw out, empty.

**ferrāment•um, -ī, n.** [ferrum, iron], an iron tool or implement.

**foss•a, -ae, f.** [*perf. part. of fodiō*, dig], trench, ditch.

**glad•ius, -ī, m.,** sword.

**idōne•us, -a, -um, adj.,** fit, suitable, adapted.

**IX, sign for novem,** nine (see also App. §47).

**nūll•us, -a, -um, gen. nūllius, adj.** [ne- + ūllus, any], not any, no.

**pēs, pedis, m.,** the foot, a foot.

**re•pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum** [pellō, drive], bear or drive back, repel, repulse.

**sagul•um, -ī, n.** [*dim. of sagum*, coat], a small coat; military cloak.

**terr•a, -ae, f.,** earth, land, soil, ground; region, district; **terrae** (*pl.*) and **orbis terrārum**, the world.

**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [vāllus, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**XV, sign for quindecim,** fifteen (see also App. §47).

**2. cingunt:** after their trick fails, the Nervii begin to besiege the Roman camp.

**Haec:** “these things,” i.e., how to dig a trench and build an earthen wall or rampart.

**3–4. quōs . . . captivōs . . . ab eis:** the antecedent of **quōs** is **eis**. By placing the rel. clause before its antecedent, Caesar emphasizes the role Roman captives had in instructing the Nervii.

**4. nūllā . . . cōpiā:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**quae esset:** subjunctive in a rel. clause of characteristic. See App. § 230.

**5–6. gladiīs . . . manibus sagulisque:** ablatives of means; see App. §143.

10 *Quā quidem ex rē hominum multitūdō cognōscī potuit: nam minus hōris tribus milium pedum XV in circuitū mūnitiōnem perfēcērunt reliquīsque diēbus turrēs ad altitūdinem vālli, falcēs testūdīnēsque, quās īdem captīvī docuerant, parāre ac facere coepērunt.*

**altitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**altus**, high, deep], height, depth.  
**captiv•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**capiō**, take], prisoner, captive.  
**circuit•us, -ūs, m.** [**circumeō**, go around], a going around; a winding path; circumference, circuit.  
**doceō, docēre, docui, docitum**, show, teach, instruct, inform.  
**falx, falcis, f.**, sickle, pruning hook; hook (for pulling down walls).  
**hōr•a, -ae, f.**, hour.  
**mūniti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**mūniō**, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.  
**parō**, 1, prepare; acquire; get ready for.  
**per•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make, do], finish; build; accomplish.

**pēs, pedis, m.**, the foot, a foot.  
**quidem, adv.**, indeed, at any rate, at least, truly; on the other hand; **nē . . . quidem**, not even.  
**testūd•ō, -inis, f.**, tortoise; shed; a *testudo*, a column of men, holding their shields overlapped above their heads (which made them look like a giant tortoise).  
**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [**vāllus**, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.  
**XV, sign for quindecim**, fifteen (see also App. §47).

7. *Quā . . . ex rē* = *et ex eā rē*; *conjunctio relativa*; see App. §173, a.

8. *hōris*: abl. of comparison; see App. §139.  
 9. *diēbus*: abl. of time when; see App. §152.



Avid enthusiasts of Roman warfare and military techniques regularly gather to reenact those maneuvers. Depicted is a group of Roman soldier reenactors using their shields to create a *testudo* formation.

- [5.43] Septimō *oppugnātiōnis diē maximō* coortō ventō  
 ferventēs fūsili *ex argillā glandēs fundis et fervefacta iacula*  
*in casās, quae mōre Gallicō strāmentis erant tēctae, iacere*  
*coepērunt. Hae celeriter ignem comprehendērunt et ventī*  
 5 *magnitūdine in omnem locum castrōrum distulērunt.*

**argill•a, -ae, f.**, white clay.

**cas•a, -ae, f.**, hut, barrack.

**celeriter**, *adv.* [**celer**, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp.*: **celerius**; *superl.*: **celerrimē** (App. §40).

**com•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendi, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], lay hold of, seize, arrest, catch (*fire*).

**co•orior, -oriri, -ortus sum** [**orior**, rise], arise, spring up, break out.

**differō, differre, distuli, dilātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], scatter, spread; put off, defer; be different, differ.

**ferve•faciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factum** [**ferveō**, be red hot + **faciō**, make], heat, melt.

**ferv•ēns, -entis, adj.** [*pres. part. of ferveō*, be red hot], heated, glowing, hot.

**fund•a, -ae, f.**, sling.

**fūsil•is, -e, adj.** [**fundō**, pour], liquid, molten.

**Gallic•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**Gallia**, Gaul], pertaining to Gaul or the Gauls, Gallic.

**glān•s, -dis, f.**, acorn; ball, slug of lead.

**iaciō, iacere, iēcī, iactum**, throw, cast, hurl.

**iacul•um, -ī, n.** [**iaciō**, throw], javelin, spear, dart.

**ign•is, -is, m.**, fire.

**magnitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**magnus**, large], large size; violence (**venti**).

**mōs, mōris, m.**, manner, custom, practice.

**septim•us, -a, -um, ord. num. adj.** [**septum**, seven], seventh.

**strāmentum, -ī, n.**, covering; straw, thatch; pack-saddle.

**tegō, tegere, tēxī, tēctum**, cover, hide; protect, defend.

**vent•us, -ī, m.**, wind.

**1. Septimō . . . diē:** abl. of time when; see App. §152.

**maximō . . . ventō:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**2. ferventēs fūsili ex argillā glandēs:** “hot balls of molten white clay.” The separation of the **ferventēs** from the noun it modifies is useful, as the arrangement assists readers in understanding the whole clause as one of the objects of **iacere**.

**3. mōre:** abl. of accordance (manner); see App. §142, *a*.

**strāmentis:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**4. Hae = casae**, i.e., the men’s barracks.

**5. magnitūdine:** abl. of cause; see App. §138.

**distulērunt:** supply *ignem* (from the first clause) as the direct object.



*Hostēs maximō clāmōre sicutī partā iam atque explorātā victōriā  
turrēs testūdīnēsque agere et scālīs vāllum ascendere coepērunt.*

**ag•ō, -ere, ēgī, actum**, set in motion, drive (*animals*); move forward, advance (*military works*); do, transact, carry on (*business*); discuss, speak.

**a•scendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēsum** [**ad** + **scandō**, climb], climb up, ascend, mount, climb.

**clām•or, -ōris, m.** [**clāmō**, cry out], outcry, noise, shouting, clamor.

**explōrō**, 1, search *or* find out, investigate, spy out, reconnoiter.

**iam**, *adv.*, now; already, at last; indeed.

**pariō, parere, peperī, partum**, bring forth; gain, acquire, win.

**scāl•ae, -ārum, f.** [**scandō**, climb], stairs; scaling ladder.

**sicut or sicutī, adv.** [**sic**, so + **ut(i)**, as], so as, just as, just as if.

**testūd•ō, -inis, f.**, tortoise; shed; a *testudo*, a column of men, holding their shields overlapped above their heads (which made them look like a giant tortoise).

**vāll•um, -i, n.** [**vāllus**, palisade], wall *or* rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**6. maximō clāmōre:** abl. of manner; see App. §142.

**partā . . . victōriā:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**7. turrēs testūdīnēsque agere:** the Nervii have built wooden towers which they can roll up to the Roman walls and they also have protective “tortoise shells” which they can

use to protect their advancing troops. Soldiers could form “shells” on the fly by holding their shields over their heads and overlapping them with the shields of those next to them or they could also build light “roofs” which they could carry over their heads. At all events, the Nervii have learned Roman techniques rather well.

- 10 *At tanta militum virtūs atque ea praesentia animī fuit, ut, cum undique flammā torrērentur maximāque tēlōrum multitūdine premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnēs fortūnās cōnflagrāre intellexerent, nōn modo dēmigrāndi causā dē vāllō dēcēderet nēmō, sed paene nē respiceret quidem quisquam, ac tum omnēs ācerrimē fortissimēque pugnārent.*

**āc•er, -ris, -re**, *adj.*, sharp [App. §36].

**anim•us, -ī**, *m.*, mind; character; spirit, soul; courage.

**cōnflagrō**, 1 [flagrō, burn], burn, be on fire.

**dē•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], go from or away, depart, withdraw, leave, forsake; die.

**dē•migrō**, 1 [migrō, move, migrate], move from, move away, step away (for a short time).

**flamm•a, -ae**, *f.*, fire, blaze.

**fort•is, -e**, *adj.*, strong, brave.

**fortūn•a, -ae**, *f.* [fors, chance], fortune, chance, opportunity, condition; success, property.

**impediment•um, -ī**, *n.* [impediō, hinder], hindrance, obstacle; *pl.*: baggage, baggage-train (*including pack animals*).

**intel•legō, -legere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [inter + legō, choose, select], select; understand; perceive; find out.

**modo**, *adv.* [modus, measure], with measure or limit, only; just, at least, but; of time, just now; **nōn modo ... sed etiam**, not only, ... but also.

**nē ... quidem** (*enclosing the emphatic word*), not even.

**nēmō**, *acc.* **nēminem**, *m. and f.* [ne- + homō, human being], no one, nobody.

**paene**, *adv.*, nearly, almost.

**prae•senti•a, -ae**, *f.* [praesum, be present], presence; the present moment; **in praesentiā**, for the present; then.

**quidem**, *adv.*, indeed, at any rate, at least, truly; on the other hand; **nē ... quidem**, not even.

**quisquam, quicquam**, *indef. pron.* (App. §62), any, any person or thing.

**re•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectrum** [re + speciō, look], look back; look at, take notice of; consider, regard.

**torreō, torrēre, torruī, tostum**, scorch, burn.

**undique**, *adv.* [unde, whence], on all sides, everywhere.

**vāll•um, -ī**, *n.* [vāllus, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**8–14. ut ... dēcēderet ... respiceret ... pugnārent**: subjunctives in a (long) clause of result; see App. §226.

**10–11. impedimenta atque ... fortūnās**: Roman soldiers did not fight for free. They received pay, plunder, and bonuses, and they kept their wealth with them. Similarly, a general had to carry a cash box with him to pay

the soldiers and to purchase supplies. The fires that the Nervii kindled threatened to destroy the soldiers' earthly possessions.

**12–13. paene nē respiceret quidem quisquam**: "hardly anyone looked back at all," i.e., turned around to see whether his belongings were on fire.

- 15 *Hic diēs nostrīs longē gravissimus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit  
ēventum, ut eō diē maximus numerus hostium vulnerārētur  
atque interficerētur, ut sē sub ipsō vāllō cōnstipāverant  
recessumque primīs ultimī nōn dabant.*

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**cōnstipō**, 1, press or crowd closely.

**ēvent•us, -ūs**, *m.* [**ēveniō**, turn out],  
outcome, issue, result, consequence.

**recess•us, -ūs**, *m.* [**re** + **cēdō**, go], a going  
back, retreat; way out.

**sub**, *prep. with abl.*, under, beneath.

**ultim•us, -a, -um**, *adj., superl.* [**ultrā**,  
beyond. App. §43], farthest, most distant  
or remote; as *noun*, those in the rear.

**vāll•um, -ī**, *n.* [**vāllus**, palisade], wall  
or rampart of earth set with palisades;  
entrenchments, earthworks.

**vulnerō**, 1 [**vulnus**, wound], wound.

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**15. nostrīs**: “for our men”; dat. of refer-  
ence; see App. §120.

**16–17. ut . . . vulnerārētur atque interfi-  
cerētur**: subjunctives in a substantive clause  
of result; see App. §229, *b*.

**17–18. ut . . . cōnstipāverant (et) nōn da-  
bant**: “when (from the time) they had,” etc.  
and “they were not,” etc. Note the indicative  
mood of the verbs in this use of *ut* in a tem-  
poral clause.

- 20 Paulum quidem intermissā flammā et quōdam locō turri adāctā et contingente vāllum tertiāe cohortis centuriōnēs ex eō, quō stābant, locō recessērunt suōsque omnēs remōvērunt, nūtū vōcibusque hostēs, sī introīre vellent, vocāre coepērunt; quōrum prōgredi ausus est nēmō. Tum ex omnī parte lapidibus coniectis dēturbātī, turrisque succēnsa est.

**ad•igō, -igere, -ēgi, -āctum** [ad + agō, move], thrust, plunge, hurl (*of weapons*).

**aud•eō, -ēre, ausus sum** (App. §74), dare, risk, venture.

**centuri•ō, -ōnis, m.** [centum, hundred], centurion, the commander of the century, a unit corresponding to one-sixtieth of a legion.

**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [co + iaciō, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.

**con•tingō, -tingere, -tīgī, -tāctum** [tangō, touch], touch; extend to; happen to.

**dēturbō, 1** [turbō, disturb], drive off, dislodge.

**flamm•a, -ae, f.**, fire, blaze.

**inter•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [mittō, send], send between.

**intrō•eō, -īre, -īī, -itum** [intrō, within + eō, go. App. §84], go or come in, enter.

**lap•is, -idis, m.**, stone.

**nēmō, m. and f.** [ne- + homō, human being], no one, nobody.

**nūt•us, -ūs, m.** [nuō, nod], nod; sign, command.

**paulum, adv.** [paulus, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.

**prō•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [gradior, step], step or go forward, advance.

**quidem, adv.**, indeed, at any rate, at least, truly; on the other hand.

**re•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], go back, retire.

**re•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [moveō, move], move back or away, withdraw.

**stō, stāre, steti, statum**, stand, abide by.

**suc•cendō, -cendere, -cendī, -cēsum**, set on fire below, kindle, burn.

**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [vāllus, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks.

**vocō, 1** [vōx, voice], call, summon; invite.

**vōx, vōcis, f.**, voice, tone; cry, shout.

**19. intermissā flammā:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**quōdam locō:** abl. of place where; see App. §.

**19–20. Paulum . . . cohortis:** the beginning of the sentence provides background information through a string of abl. absolutes. See the next notes for details.

**turri adāctā et contingente:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**20–21. ex eō . . . locō:** HYPERBATON; see App. §302, f. By vacating the area near the tower, the Romans can play a few tricks of their own.

**21. suōs . . . omnēs:** “all their men.”

**22. sī . . . vellent:** because Caesar narrates events in the past, what was originally a fut. condition is represented by the impf. subjunctive.

**22–23. quōrum . . . nēmō = et nēmō eōrum;** see App. §173, a. The HYPERBATON helps emphasize that absolutely none of the Nervii dared to leave the protection of the tower.

**23. lapidibus:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**coniectis:** we would more likely use a rel. clause: “that had been hurled”; see App. §205.

- [5.44] *Erant in eā legiōne fortissimī virī, centuriōnēs, quī primīs ordinibus appropinquārent, Titus Pullō et Lūcius Vorēnus. Hī perpetuās inter sē contrōversiās habēbant, quīnam anteferrētur, omnibusque annīs dē locīs summīs simultātibus*  
 5 *contendēbant. Ex hīs Pullō, cum ācerrimē ad mūnitiōnēs pugnārētur, “quid dubitās,” inquit, “Vorēne?*

**āc•er, -ris, -re, adj.**, sharp [App. §36].

**ante•ferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry.

App. §81], carry or bear before; prefer.

**appropinquō**, 1 [**ad** + **propinquus**, near], come near, approach.

**centuri•ō, -ōnis, m.** [**centum**, hundred], centurion, the commander of the century, a unit corresponding to one sixtieth of a legion.

**con•tendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentum** [**tendō**, stretch], push forward, hasten; march; strive, contend, fight; insist.

**dubitō**, 1 [**dubius**, doubtful], be uncertain, doubt; hesitate, delay.

**fort•is, -e, adj.**, strong, brave.

**inqu•am, -is, -it, say.**

**Lūci•us, -ī, m.; Vorēn•us, -ī, m.**, Lucius Vorenus, a centurion in Caesar's army in the legion commanded by Cicero.

**mūniti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**mūniō**, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.

**perpetu•us, -a, -um, adj.**, continuous; permanent; whole.

**Pull•ō, -ōnis, m.**, Titus Pullo, a centurion in Caesar's army in the legion commanded by Cicero.

**quisnam, quidnam and quīnam, quaenam, quodnam, interrog. pron.** (App. §61 and a.), who? which? what? who then? what in the world?

**simul•tās, -tātis, f.**, jealousy, rivalry.

**Tit•us, -ī, m.; Pull•ō, -ōnis, m.**, Titus Pullo, a centurion in Caesar's army in the legion commanded by Cicero.

**Vorēn•us, -ī, m.**, Lucius Vorenus, a centurion in Caesar's army in the legion commanded by Cicero.

**1–2. quī . . . appropinquārent:** rel. clause of characteristic; see App. §230. In other words, Pullo and Vorenus were the sort of centurions who were advancing toward the rank of first centurion.

**2–3. Titus Pullō et Lūcius Vorēnus:** the story of Pullo and Vorenus, which follows, tells the tale of personal enemies who saved each others' lives. The story is an entertaining distraction from an otherwise dreary narrative of difficulties. It has also proved popular, even inspiring, for example, characters with the same names on a relatively recent television program (HBO's *Rome*).

**3–4. quīnam anteferrētur:** subjunctive in an indirect question; see App. §§209, 264.

**4. locīs:** “ranks” or “military honors,” in short, their respective places in the military hierarchy.

**summīs simultātibus:** abl. of manner; see App. §142.

**6. inquit:** this is the proper verb for introducing direct speech, something Caesar rarely does. By using direct speech as well as the historical pres., Caesar renders the narrative especially lively and vivid.

*Aut quem locum tuae probandae virtutis exspectās? Hic diēs  
dē nostris contrōversiis iūdicābit.*” *Haec cum dixisset, prōcēdit  
extrā mūnitiōnēs quaeque pars hostium cōnfertissima est vīsa*  
10 *irrupit. Nē Vorēnus quidem tum sēsē vāllō continet, sed  
omnium veritus exīstimātiōnem subsequitur.*

**cōnfert•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [*perf. part. of*  
**cōnferciō**, crowd together], dense, thick,  
compact, stuffed.  
**exīstimāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**exīstimō**, estimate],  
judgement, opinion.  
**exspectō**, 1 [**spectō**, look at], look out for,  
await, expect; wait to see; anticipate,  
apprehend.  
**extrā**, *adv. and prep. with acc.*, out of, outside  
of, beyond, without.  
**ir•rumpō, -rumpere, -rūpsī, -rūptum** [**in**  
+ **rumpō**, break], break into, rush into;  
force a way into, storm.  
**iūdicō**, 1 [**iūdex**, judge], pass judgement on,  
judge, sentence, decide, determine, think,  
consider.  
**mūniti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**mūniō**, fortify],  
fortifying; fortification, rampart, works,  
entrenchments.  
**nē . . . quidem** (*enclosing the emphatic word*),  
not even.

**probō**, 1 [**probus**, good], approve;  
demonstrate.  
**pro•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum**  
[**cēdō**, go], go forth or forward, proceed,  
advance.  
**quidem**, *adv.*, indeed, at any rate, at least,  
truly; on the other hand; **nē . . . quidem**,  
not even.  
**sub•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus** [**sequor**,  
follow], follow closely.  
**tu•us, -a, -um**, *adj., poss. adj.* [**tū**, you], your,  
yours.  
**vāll•um, -ī, n.** [**vāllus**, palisade], wall  
or rampart of earth set with palisades;  
entrenchments, earthworks.  
**vereor, verērī, veritus sum**, revere; fear,  
dread, be afraid of.  
**Vorēn•us, -ī, m.**, Lucius Vorenus, a  
centurion in Caesar's army in the legion  
commanded by Cicero.

7. **probandae**: gerundive to express purpose; see App. §§288, 291.

**Hic diēs**: PERSONIFICATION; see App. §302, *h.*

8. **Haec** = *haec verba*.

9. **quaeque pars hostium** = *in eam partem hostium, quaeque pars hostium*. As he does

so often, Caesar has put what we would expect as the antecedent within the rel. clause, and then ellipted the antecedent altogether.

10. **vāllō**: abl. of place where; see App. §151.

11. **omnium** = *omnium militum Rōmānōrum*.

- Mediocrī spatiō relictō Pullō pilum in hostēs immittit atque  
ūnum ex multitudīne prōcurrentem trāicit; quō percussō et  
exanimātō hunc scūtīs prōtegunt, in hostem tēla ūniversī  
15 coniciunt neque dant regrediendī facultātem. Trānsfigitur  
scūtum Pullōnī et verūtum in balteō dēfigitur. Āvertit hic  
cāsus vāginam et gladium ēducere cōnantī dextram morātur  
manum, impeditumque hostēs circumsistunt.

**āvert•ō, -ere, -ī, āversum**, [ab + vertō, turn], turn away from or away; repulse.  
**balte•us, -ī, m.**, sword belt.  
**cās•us, -ūs, m.** [cadō, fall], accident, chance, misfortune.  
**circum•sistō, -sistere, -stitī, — [sistō, stand]**, surround.  
**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [co + iaciō, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast.  
**cōnor, 1**, try, attempt.  
**dē•figō, -figere, -fixī, -fixum** [figō, fix], fix or fasten down, drive in, plant.  
**dext•er, -ra, -rum, adj.**, on the right, right.  
**ē•ducō, -ducere, -dūxī, -ductum** [ducō, lead], lead out, lead forth; draw (a sword).  
**ex•animō, 1** [anima, breath], deprive of breath, render breathless, exhaust; kill.  
**facul•tās, -tātis, f.** [facilis, easy], power; opportunity; resources.  
**glad•ius, -ī, m.**, sword.  
**im•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -misum** [mittō, send], direct toward or against.  
**impediō, 4** [in + pēs, foot], obstruct, hinder, delay.  
**mediocr•is, -e, adj.** [medius, middle of], ordinary, moderate, average.

**moror, 1** [mora, a delay], delay, hinder; linger, hang back.  
**per•cutiō, -cutere, -cutī, -cussum**, strike or thrust through, slay, kill.  
**pil•um, -ī, n.**, heavy javelin, pike.  
**pro•currō, -currere, -currī, -cursum** [currō, run], run forward, charge.  
**prō•tegō, -tegere, -tēxī, -tēctum** [tegō, cover], cover, protect.  
**Pull•ō, -ōnis, m.**, Titus Pullo, a centurion in Caesar's army.  
**re•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [gradior, step], withdraw, retire, retreat.  
**scūt•um, -ī, n.**, shield, buckler.  
**spat•ium, -ī, n.**, space, distance; period or length of time.  
**tra•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [iaciō, throw. App. §7], hurl across; pierce.  
**trāns•figō, -figere, -fixī, -fixum** [figō, fix], thrust or pierce through; transfix.  
**ūnivers•us, -a, -um, adj.** [ūnus, one + vertō, turn], all together, whole.  
**vāgin•a, -ae, f.**, sheath, scabbard.  
**verūt•um, -ī, n.**, dart, spear, javelin.

**12. spatiō relictō:** abl. absolute.

**13. prōcurrentem:** "who was running forward"; see App. §205.

**13–14. quō percussō et exanimātō = et eō, etc.; conjunctio relativa** (App. §173, a) in an abl. absolute (App. §150).

**14. prōtegunt:** the Nervii protect their wounded comrade with their shields.

**in hostem . . . ūniversī = in hostem Pullōnem . . . ūniversī Nervii.** One must pay attention to number (sing. = Pullo and pl. = Nervii) as well as to context to sort out who is doing what to whom. Note how the point of

view shifts, depending on who is the subject. The pl. **hostēs** referred to the Nervii, but the sing. **hostem** refers to Pullo.

**16. Pullōnī:** dat. of reference; see App. §117.

**17. cōnantī:** "for him as he was attempting"; the part., which is dat. of reference (App. §117), takes the place of a rel. clause (App. §205). It is impossible to translate both literally and elegantly. We would be more likely to say "(this accident) hinders his right hand as he attempts, etc."

**18. impeditum:** "the entangled (man)."

- 20 Succurrit inimīcus illī Vorēnus et labōrantī subvenit. Ad hunc  
 sē cōnfestim ā Pullōne omnis multitūdō convertit: illum verūtō  
 arbitrantur occisum. Gladiō comminus rem gerit Vorēnus atque  
 ūnō interfectō reliquōs paulum prōpellit; dum cupidius instat,  
 in locum dēiectus inferiōrem concidit. Huic rūsus circumventō  
 fert subsidium Pullō, atque ambō incolumēs complūribus  
 25 interfectīs summā cum laude sēsē intrā mūnitiōnēs recipiunt.

**amb•ō, -ae, -a, adj.**, both.

**comminus, adv.** [**manus**, hand], hand to hand, in close combat.

**complūr•ēs, -a, adj.** [**plūs**, more], several, many; a great many.

**con•cidō, -ere, -cidi, —, [cadō, fall]**, fall down, fall.

**cōnfestim, adv.**, hastily, at once, immediately.

**con•vertō, -vertere, -verti, -versum** [**verto**, turn], turn completely, turn around; turn, change.

**cupid•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**cupiō**, desire], eager, desirous.

**dē•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], cast down; dislodge; kill; disappoint.

**glad•ius, -i, m.**, sword.

**incolum•is, -e, adj.**, unhurt, uninjured.

**infer•us, -a, -um, adj.**, low, below; *comp.*: inferior, lower, inferior.

**inimīc•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **amīcus**, friendly], unfriendly, hostile.

**in•stō, -stāre, -stiti, -stātum** [**stō**, stand], stand upon or near, be at hand, press on; threaten.

**intrā, prep. with acc.** [**inter**, between], within, inside, into.

**labōrō, 1** [**labor**, toil], work hard; be troubled; labor, hard pressed.

**laus, laudis, f.**, praise, commendation; renown, popularity, glory.

**mūniti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**mūniō**, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.

**oc•cidō, -cidere, -cisi, -cīsum** [**caedō**, cut], cut down, kill.

**paulum, adv.** [**paulus**, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.

**pro•pellō, -pellere, -puli, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], put to flight, rout; drive back.

**Pull•ō, -ōnis, m.**, Titus Pullo, a centurion in Caesar's army in the legion commanded by Cicero.

**rūsus, adv.** [*for reversus, from revertō*, turn back], again, back, anew; in turn.

**subsid•ium, -i, n.** [**subsidiō**, sit near or in reserve], reserve force; help.

**sub•veniō, -venire, -vēni, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come or go to help, aid, succor.

**suc•currō, -currere, -cursi, -cursum** [**currō**, run], run to help, aid, assist.

**verūt•um, -i, n.**, dart, spear, javelin.

**Vorēn•us, -i, m.**, Lucius Vorenus, a centurion in Caesar's army in the legion commanded by Cicero.

**19. inimicus illi Vorēnus et labōrantī** (i.e., *Pullōni*): note the INTERLOCKED WORD ORDER. Caesar constructs even simple sentences artfully.

**illi . . . et labōrantī**: dat. indirect objects of compound verbs; see App. §116.

**hunc** = *Vorēnum*.

**20. illum** = *Pullōnem*.

**21. occisum**: perf. active inf. (with *esse*) omitted in indirect statement after *arbitrantur*.

**rem gerit**: “he carries on the fight.”

**22. ūnō (ex Nervii) interfectō**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**23. Huic . . . circumventō**: “to the one (i.e., Vorenus) . . . who had been surrounded”; see App. §205 on the use of the part. in place of a rel. clause.

**24–25. complūribus interfectis**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**25. summā cum laude**: abl. of manner; see App. §142.



*Sic fortūna in contentiōne et certāmine utrumque versāvit, ut alter alterī inimīcus auxiliō salūtique esset, neque dīiudicārī posset, uter utrī virtūte antefendus vidērētur.*

**ante•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [ferō, carry.

App. §81], carry or bear before; prefer.

**auxil•ium, -ī, n.** [augeō, increase], help, assistance, aid; *pl.*, auxiliary troops; reinforcements.

**certām•en, -inis, n.** [certō, struggle], strife, struggle, contest, combat.

**contenti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [contendō, strive], striving, struggle, contest, dispute.

**dīiudicō, 1** [iūdicō, judge], decide.

**fortūn•a, -ae, f.** [fors, chance], fortune, chance, opportunity, condition; success, property.

**inimīc•us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + amīcus, friendly], unfriendly, hostile; *as a noun*: personal enemy, rival; *as opposed to* **hostis**, public enemy.

**sīc, adv.** so, thus, in this manner; **sīc . . . ut**, so . . . that; so . . . as.

**versō, 1**, turn; deal with; *pass. as deponent*, turn oneself; be, remain; engage in; fight.

**26. fortūna:** Caesar perhaps elevates the status of the event almost to a miracle by invoking *Fortūna*, one of his special goddesses (or religious forces).

**26–27. ut . . . esset:** subjunctive in a substantive clause of result or fact; see App. §229.

**27. alterī:** dat. of reference; see App. §120. Each was an enemy or rival “to the other,” but each also served as a help and deliverance “for the other” (see the next note for the rest of this “double dative” construction). The thought is quite compressed in this phrase and in the phrases that follow.

**auxiliō salūtique:** datives of purpose; see App. §119.

**28. posset:** the impers. subject is unexpressed. You may supply *id*.

**uter . . . vidērētur:** subjunctive in an indirect question; see App. §264.

**utrī:** dat. of reference; see App. §120.

**virtūte:** abl. of respect; see App. §149.

**antefendus:** complementary pass. periphrastic inf. (without *esse*) with **vidērētur**.

- [5.45] *Quantō erat in diēs gravior atque asperior oppugnātiō, et maximē quod magnā parte militum cōfectā vulneribus rēs ad paucitatem dēfēnsōrum pervēnerat, tantō crēbriōrēs litterae nūntiique ad Caesarem mittēbantur; quōrum pars*  
 5 *dēprehēnsa in cōspectū nostrōrum militum cum cruciātū necābātur. Erat ūnus intus Nervius nōmine Verticō, locō nātus honestō, quī ā primā obsidiōne ad Cicerōnem perfūgerat suamque eī fidem praestiterat.*

**asp•er, -era, -erum, adj.,** rough, violent.

**cōn•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum [faciō,** make], make or do thoroughly, complete, finish; exhaust, weaken.

**cōnspect•us, -ūs, m. [cōnspicīō,** look at], sight, view; presence.

**crēb•er, -ra, -rum, adj.,** thick, close, repeated, numerous, frequent, at short intervals. *Comp.: crēbrior; superl.: crēberrimus* (App. §40).

**cruciāt•us, -ūs, m. [cruciō,** torture; **crux,** cross (*used for crucifixion*)], torture, torment.

**dēfēnsor, -is, m. [dēfendō,** defend], defender, protector; (*means of*) defense.

**dē•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum [prehendō (= prendō),** seize], seize, capture, catch.

**fid•ēs, -eī, f. [fidō,** confide], faith; trustworthiness; allegiance, protection; pledge.

**honest•us, -a, -um, adj. [honōs,** honor], honorable, worthy, distinguished, eminent.

**intus, adv.,** within, on the inside.

**magis, adv. comp. [from magnus,** large], more, rather; *superl.: maximē*, especially.

**nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum,** be born, be produced; rise, spring up, be raised; be found.

**necō, 1 [nex,** death], put to death, kill, murder.

**nōm•en, -inis, n.,** name, title; reputation, prestige; **nōmine** *with gen.*, in the name of, as; **suō nōmine**, on his or their own account, personally.

**nūntius, -ī, m.,** messenger; message, news, report.

**obsidi•ō, -ōnis, f. [obsideō,** blockade], siege, investment, blockade; peril, oppression.

**pauci•tās, -tātis, f. [paucus,** few], fewness, small number.

**per•fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitum [fugiō,** flee], flee for refuge, take refuge; desert.

**prae•stō, -stāre, -stiti, -stātum [stō,** stand], stand or place before; show, exhibit, supply; be superior, excel, surpass.

**Vertic•ō, -ōnis, m.,** Vertico, a high-ranking Nervian.

**vuln•us, -eris, n.,** a wound.

1–3. **Quantō . . . gravior atque asperior oppugnātiō . . . tantō crēbriōrēs:** “The heavier and the more violent the assault . . . the more frequent(ly),” etc.

2. **maximē quod:** “especially inasmuch as” or “because.”

parte . . . **cōfectā:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

3. **rēs:** “the situation.”

4. **quōrum = et eōrum (nūntiōrum); con-** *unctio relativa*; see App. §173, a.

5. **dēprehēnsa:** “who had been captured”; on the use of part. in place of rel. clauses, see App. §205.

6. **locō:** abl. of source; see App. §135.

10 *Hic servō spē libertātis magnisque persuādet praemiīs, ut litterās ad Caesarem dēferat. Hās ille in iaculō illigātās effert et Gallus inter Gallōs sine ūllā suspiciōne versātus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eō dē periculīs Cicerōnis legiōnisque cognōscitur.*

**dē•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [ferō, carry.

App. §81], carry, take; report; bring before; bestow.

**efferō, efferre, extulī, ēlātum** [ex + ferō, carry. App. §81], carry out or away; raise; make known; elate.

**iacul•um, -ī, n.** [iaciō, throw], javelin, spear, dart.

**illigō, 1** [ligō, bind], attach, hold together, bind together.

**liber•tās, -tātis, f.** [liber, free], freedom, liberty, independence.

**praem•ium, -ī, n.**, distinction, prize, reward.

**serv•us, -ī, m.**, slave, servant.

**suspīci•ō, -ōnis, f.** [suspīcor, suspect], suspicion, distrust; surmise.

**ūll•us, -a, -um** gen. ūllius (App. §32), adj., a single, any.

**versō, 1**, turn; deal with; *pass. as deponent*, conduct oneself.

**9. Hic** = *Verticō*, a high-ranking Nervian.

**servō**: dat. indirect object of an intransitive verb; see App. §115.

**9–10. ut . . . dēferat**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command); see App. §228.

**10. Hās** = *litterās*.

**illigātās**: how was the letter bound to the spear? Scholars have various theories that include splitting the wood and wrapping twine around the letter.

**ille** = *servus*.

**12. eō** = *servō*.

- [5.46] *Caesar acceptis litteris hōrā circiter XI diēi statim nūntium in Bellovacōs ad Marcum Crassum quaestōrem mittit, cuius hiberna aberant ab eō milia passuum XXV; iubet mediā nocte legiōnem proficiscī celeriterque ad sē venīre. Exit cum nūntiō*  
 5 *Crassus. Alterum ad Gāium Fabium lēgātum mittit, ut in Atrebātium finēs legiōnem adducat, quā sibi iter faciendum sciēbat.*

**absum, abesse, āfui**, — [sum, be. App.

§78], be away, be distant, be lacking.

**ad•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead to; induce, influence.

**Atre•bās, -bātis, m.**, an Atrebatian; *pl.*, the Atrebates.

**Bellovac•i, -ōrum, m.**, the Bellovaci (*a Belgic people*).

**celeriter, adv.** [celer, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp.*: **celerius**; *superl.*: **celerrimē** (App. §40).

**Crassus, -i, m.**, Marcus Licinius Crassus, son of Caesar's powerful ally, served as one of Caesar's quaestors after his brother Publius left Gaul.

**ex•eō, -ire, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], go from, leave.

**Gā•ius, -ī, m.; Fab•ius, -ī, m.**, Gaius Fabius, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**hōr•a, -ae, f.**, hour.

**Marc•us, -ī, m.; Crassus, -ī, m.**, Marcus

Licinius Crassus, son of Caesar's powerful ally, served as one of Caesar's quaestors after his brother Publius left Gaul.

**medi•us, -a, -um, adj.**, in the middle of; in the middle, intervening, intermediate; **locus medius utriusque**, a place midway between the two.

**nūntius, -ī, m.**, messenger; message, news, report.

**quaest•or, -ōris, m.** [quaerō, seek], a quaestor, officer (for finances).

**sciō, 4**, distinguish; know, understand.

**statim, adv.** [stō, stand], immediately.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

**XI**, sign for **ūndecim**, eleven (*for ord. and distributive numbers, see App. §47*).

**XXV**, sign for **quinque et vīginti**, twenty-five (*see also App. §47*).

**1. acceptis litteris**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**statim**: note how Caesar depicts his actions. He had been unaware of the troubles. As soon as he finds out, he “immediately” acts.

**XI** = *ūndecimā*; because daylight was divided into twelve hours, the eleventh hour of the day would be late afternoon, about an hour before sunset. Remember too that it was already fall, so the sun would set early.

**3. ab eō** = *ab eō locō*.

**mediā nocte**: a midnight departure underscores Caesar's decisiveness.

**4. celeriter**: again, Caesar emphasizes the speed with which he acts.

**cum nūntiō**: i.e., “as soon as he got the message.”

**5. Alterum** = *alterum nūntium*.

**mittit**: Caesar is once again the subject.

**5–6. ut . . . adducat**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command); see App. §228.

**6. sibi** = *Caesarī*; dat. of agent; see App. §118.

**faciendum**: pass. periphrastic inf. (with-out *esse*) in indirect speech dependent on **sciēbat**. Caesar ordered Fabius to bring his legion to the area where he (Caesar) also had

to go.

10 *Sc̄ribit Labiēnō, sī reī pūblicaē commodō facere posset, cum  
legiōne ad finēs Nerviorum veniat. Reliquam partem exercitūs,  
quod paulō aberat longius, nōn putat exspectandam; equitēs  
circiter quadringentōs ex proximīs hibernīs colligit.*

**absum, abesse, āfui**, — [**sum**, be. App. §78], be away, be distant, be lacking.

**colligō**, 1 [**conv** + **ligō**, bind], bind or fasten together.

**commodum**, -i, n. [**commodus**, convenient], convenience, interest, advantage.

**exspectō**, 1 [**spectō**, look at], look out for, await, expect; wait to see; anticipate, apprehend.

**Labiēnus**, -i, m., Titus Atius Labienus,

Caesar's most trusted lieutenant in the Gallic War. During the Civil War, Labienus fought on Pompey's side, and died in battle against Caesar in Munda (in Spain) in 45 BCE.

**paulō**, adv. [**Paulus**, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.

**putō**, 1, think, consider, believe.

**quadringenti**, -i, -ae, -a, card. num. adj., four hundred.

**scribō, scribere, scripsi, scriptum**, write, record or make mention in writing.

**veniō, venire, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

**8. reī pūblicaē**: dat. of reference; see App. §120 and see the next note for the second part of this "double dative" construction.

**commodō**: dat. of purpose; see App. §119. In other words, "if he was be able to act for the benefit of the Republic, he should," etc.

**8–9. Sc̄ribit . . . sī . . . posset, . . . veniat**: in indirect speech, the verb of an if-clause (protasis) becomes subjunctive, but the conclusion (apodosis) is represented with an acc. and inf. construction (App. §272). We find after *scribit*, however, a subjunctive (*veniat*) in what might have been the conclusion. This means

that, in direct speech, Caesar had instead used an imperative, as commands are represented by the subjunctive in indirect speech. In direct speech, Caesar would thus have written: *sī . . . poteris* (Latin uses the future tense), . . . *veni!* i.e., "if . . . you can (English uses the pres. tense), . . . come!" In indirect speech, this becomes, "he writes that, if . . . he could, . . . he should come."

**10. exspectandam**: pass. periphrastic inf. (without *esse*) in indirect statement after **putat**. Caesar has in this paragraph assembled his forces. See the map on p. 80 for the locations of the various winter camps.

- [5.47] *Hōrā circiter tertiā ab antecursōribus dē Crassī adventū certior factus eō diē milia passuum XX prōcēdit. Crassum Samarobrīvae praeficit legiōnemque attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitūs, obsidēs cīvitatū, litterās*  
 s *pūblicās frumentumque omne quod eō tolerandae hiemis causā dēvexerat relinquēbat. Fabius, ut imperātum erat, nōn ita multum morātus in itinere cum legiōne occurrit.*

**antecurs•or, -ōris, m., [currō, run],**  
 forerunner; *pl.*, vanguard, advance guard.  
**at•tribuō, -tribuere, -tribui, -tribūtum**  
 [**ad + tribuō, assign**], assign, allot.  
**Crass•us, -ī, m.,** Marcus Licinius Crassus,  
 one of Caesar's officers.  
**dē•vehō, -vehere, -vexī, -vectum [vehō,**  
 carry], carry away, bring.  
**Fab•ius, -ī, m.** Gaius Fabius, one of Caesar's  
 lieutenants.  
**hiem•s, -is, f.,** wintertime, winter.  
**hōr•a, -ae, f.,** hour.  
**ibi, adv.,** there, in that place.  
**impediment•um, -ī, n. [impediō, hinder];**  
*pl.*: baggage, baggage train (*including pack animals*).

**imperō, 1** order, instruct.  
**moror, 1 [mora, a delay],** delay, hinder;  
 linger, hang back.  
**ob•ses, -idis, m. and f. [obsideō, blockade],**  
 hostage; pledge, security.  
**oc•currō, -currere, -curri, -cursum [ob**  
 + **currō, run],** meet; come to.  
**prae•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum [faciō,**  
 make], make before; put in command of.  
**prō•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum [cēdō,**  
 go], proceed, advance.  
**Samarobrīv•a, -ae, f.,** the city Samarobriva.  
**tolerō, 1,** bear, endure; hold out.  
**XX, sign for viginti,** twenty.

**1. Hōrā . . . tertiā:** as Romans divided daylight into twelve hours, the third hour would be halfway between dawn and noon, hence midmorning. Note too that Caesar says “approximately” (*circiter*). The measurement of time was not an exact science.

**2. certior factus:** “having been informed”; modifying the unexpressed subject of the verb **prōcēdit**—and hero of the story—Gaius Julius Caesar.

**3. praeficit:** do not forget that Caesar remains the unexpressed subject of this verb as well as the ones that follow. Caesar also continues to use the historical pres. as a rhetorical means to help his readers feel that they are eyewitnesses to Caesar's decisive actions.

**4. impedimenta:** Caesar prudently stashes his army's baggage at Samarobriva. The alert reader will compare the actions of Titurius Sabinus's army.

**obsidēs cīvitatū:** “hostages from the (Gallic) tribes.” Caesar collected the relatives

of the leaders of the various tribes he conquered. Their continued safety depended on the good behavior of Gallic leaders back home. Caesar does not describe such unpleasanties, but he was ruthless in inflicting punishments when he felt a show of force was necessary to restore or maintain obedience.

**4–5. litterās pūblicās:** “official papers.” No army wants its correspondence, records, plans, etc., to fall into enemy hands.

**5. eō:** “to that place.”

**tolerandae . . . causā:** gerundive construction to express purpose; see App. §289.

**6. ut imperātum:** Caesar reminds us that his subordinate acted according to Caesar's instructions. Caesar is in control.

**6–7. nōn ita multum morātus:** “thus having delayed not much,” i.e., with very little delay.

**7. occurrit:** but whom did Fabius meet? Caesar, of course, who leaves his name out, thus emphasizing his unspoken presence.

- 10 Labiēnus interitū Sabīnī et caede cohortium cognitā, cum omnēs  
fugae similem profectiōnem fēcisset, hostium impetum sustinēre  
nōn posset, praesertim quōs recentī victōriā efferri sciret, litterās  
Caesari remittit, quantō cum periculō legiōnem ex hibernis  
ēductūrus esset; rem gestam in Eburōnibus perscribit; docet  
15 omnēs equitātūs peditātūsque cōpiās Trēverōrum tria milia  
passuum longē ab suis castris cōnsēdisse.

**caed-ēs, -is, f.** [caedō, cut], slaughter, massacre, murder.

**cōn-sīdō, -sīdere, -sēdī, -sessum** [sīdō, sit down], take a position.

**docēō, docēre, docuī, docitum**, show, teach, instruct, inform.

**ē-dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [dūcō, lead], lead out, lead forth; draw (*a sword*).

**Eburōn-ēs, -um, m.**, the Eburones.

**efferō, efferre, extulī, elātum** [ex + ferō]; raise; make known; elate.

**fug-a, -ae, f.**, flight.

**impet-us, -ūs, m.**, attack; force, vehemence.

**interit-us, -ūs, m.**, destruction, death.

**Labiēn-us, -i, m.**, Titus Atius Labienus, Caesar's most trusted lieutenant.

**peditāt-us, -ūs, m.** [pedes, foot soldier], foot soldiers, infantry.

**per-scribō, -scribere, -scripsī, -scriptum** [scribō, write], write out, report.

**praesertim, adv.**, particularly, especially.

**profecti-ō, -ōnis, f.**, a setting out; departure.

**rec-ēns, -entis, adj.**, recent, late.

**re-mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum**, send back, return.

**Sabin-us, -i, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**sciō, 4**, distinguish; know, understand.

**simil-is, -e, adj.**, like, similar.

**Trev-ir, -erī, m., pl. Treverī**, the Treveri.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

**vereor, verērī, veritus sum**, revere; fear, dread, be afraid of.

**8. interitū . . . cognitā:** abl. absolute.

**8–13. Labiēnus . . . litterās Caesari remittit . . .**: this simple statement represents the first principal clause. What comes between Labienus and **remittit** represents the background to the letter he sends to Caesar. What follows the verb represents what Labienus described in his letter. Two more indicative verbs (**perscribit** and **docet**) will help elaborate the letter's contents.

**9–10. si . . . fēcisset:** "if he had made," etc., plupf. subjunctive in implied indirect statement that represents an original fut. perf. in a future more vivid condition (i.e., "if we (will have) set out, we will not be able to sustain the attack," etc.—this is the fear); see App. §256.

**9–11. veritus nē . . . nōn posset:** "afraid that . . . he would not be able"; subjunctive in a fear clause; see App. §228, b. Labienus, Caesar's best lieutenant, experiences legitimate

fear based on careful assessment of the military situation.

**11. praesertim quōs** = *praesertim eōrum hostium quōs*. As Latin inflection makes it clear that **quōs** refers to **hostium**, Caesar does not need to supply an antecedent that readers can infer from context. **quōs** itself serves as the acc. subject of the inf. **efferri** in indirect speech dependent on **sciret**. To put it into English: "especially since he knew that they," etc.

**12–13. quantō cum periculō . . . esset:** abl. of manner (App. §142) and an indirect question that depends on the speech implied by sending a letter to Caesar, which informs Caesar "how dangerous it would be for him," etc., or, more literally, "with what great danger (to himself) he would," etc.

**13. rem gestam:** "what happened" (literally: "the thing done"), i.e., the loss of Sabinus and Cotta's legion.

- [5.48] *Caesar cōnsiliō eius probātō, etsī opīniōne trium legiōnum dēiectus ad duās redierat, tamen ūnum commūnis salūtis auxilium in celeritāte pōnēbat. Venit magnīs itineribus in Nerviōrum finēs. Ibi ex captīvīs cognōscit, quae apud*  
 5 *Cicerōnem gerantur, quantōque in periculō rēs sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallīs magnīs praemiīs persuādet utī ad Cicerōnem epistolam dēferat.*

**auxil-ium, -ī, n.** [**augeō**, increase], help, assistance, aid; *pl.*, auxiliary troops; reinforcements.

**captiv-us, -a, -um, adj.** [**capiō**, take], prisoner, captive.

**dē-ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry.

App. §81], carry, take; report; bring before; bestow.

**dē-iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw.

App. §7], disappoint.

**epistol-a, -ae, f.**, letter, epistle.

**etsī, conj.** [**et** + **sī**, if], even if, although.

**ibi, adv.**, there, in that place.

**opīni-ō, -ōnis, f.** [**opīnor**, think], way of thinking; expectation.

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum**, place, put, place over; lay down, set aside; station, post; regard, consider; *with in and the abl.*, depend on.

**praem-ium, -ī, n.**, distinction, prize, reward.

**probō, 1** [**probus**, good], approve; demonstrate.

**red-eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**red-** + **eō**, go. App. §84], go or turn back, return.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

1. **cōnsiliō . . . probātō**: abl. absolute; see App. §150.

2–3. **ūnum commūnis salūtis auxilium**: CHIASMUS; see App. §302, c.

3. **celeritāte**: one of Caesar's signature qualities as a general.

**itineribus**: abl. of manner; see App. §142.

4–5. **quae . . . gerantur, quantōque . . . sit**: subjunctives in indirect questions; see App. §264.

6–7. **utī . . . dēferat**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command) after **persuādet**; see App. §228, a.

7. **epistolam**: Caesar uses the Greek word for letter, perhaps because he writes the letter using the Greek alphabet or perhaps because he does not want to use the Latin word *litterae* twice in a row with two different meanings (letter of the alphabet versus epistle).



10 *Hanc Graecīs cōnscriptam litterīs mittit, nē interceptā epistolā nostra ab hostibus cōsilia cognōscantur. Sī adīre nōn possit, monet ut trāgulam cum epistolā ad āmentum dēligātā intrā mūnitiōnem castrōrum abiciat. In litterīs scribit sē cum legiōnibus profectum celeriter adfore; hortātur ut pristinam virtūtem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, trāgulam mittit.*

**abic•iō, -ere, abiēcī, abiectum** [iaciō, throw. See App. §7.], throw away or down; hurl.  
**ad•eō, -īre, iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], go to, approach, visit, assail, attack.  
**adsum, adesse, adfui** [sum, be, App. §77], be near, be present, be at hand, appear.  
**āment•um, -ī, n.**, strap or thong, fastened to the shaft of a javelin to aid its propulsion.  
**celeriter, adv.** [celer, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily. *Comp.*: **celerius**; *superl.*: **celerrimē** (App. §40).  
**cōn•scribō, -scribere, -scripsī, -scriptum** [scribō, write], enroll, enlist; write.  
**dēligō, 1** [ligō, bind], bind or tie down, fasten, moor.  
**epistol•a, -ae, f.**, letter, epistle.  
**Graec•us, -a, -um, adj.**, of or belonging to the Greeks, Greek; *pl. as noun*: the Greeks.  
**hortor, 1**, exhort, encourage, incite, urge strongly.

**inter•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum** [ad + capiō, take], take or catch between (one point and another); interrupt; intercept; cut off.  
**intrā, prep. with acc.** [inter, between], within, inside, into.  
**moneō, 2**, warn, advise, instruct, order.  
**mūniti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [mūniō, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.  
**praecept•um, -ī, n.** [praecipio, instruct], instruction, injunction, command.  
**pristin•us, -a, -um, adj.** [from prior, former], former; previous.  
**re•tineō, -tinēre, -tinui, -tentum** [re + teneō, hold], retain, preserve, maintain.  
**scribō, scribere, scripsī, scriptum**, write, record or make mention in writing.  
**trāgul•a, -ae, f.**, a javelin, spear, or dart used by the Gauls.  
**vereor, verērī, veritus sum**, revere; fear, dread, be afraid of.

**8–9. nē . . . cognōscantur**: subjunctive in a clause of (negative) purpose; see App. §255.

**interceptā epistolā**: abl. absolute equivalent to a condition; see App. §150.

**10–11. ut . . . abiciat**: volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command) after **monet**; see App. §228, a.

**11. litterīs**: Does Caesar return to the Latin word for letter or does he refer to the Greek letters with which he composed his thoughts?

**12. adfore**: *fore* is an alternative form for *futurus esse*, the fut. active inf. of *esse*.

- 15 *Haec cāsū ad turrim adhaesit neque ab nostris bīduō*  
*animadversa tertiō diē ā quōdam milite cōspicitur, dēmta*  
*ad Cicerōnem dēfertur. Ille perlēctam in conventū militum*  
*recitat maximāque omnēs laetitiā adfcit. Tum fūmī*  
*incendiōrum procul vidēbantur; quae rēs omnem dubitātiōnem*  
 20 *adventūs legiōnum expulit.*

**ad•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [ad + faciō, do], affect, fill, inspire.

**ad•haereō, -haerēre, -haesī, -haesum**  
 [haereō, stick], cling to, stick to.

**animad•vertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versum**  
 [animus, mind + ad + vertō, turn], turn the mind to; notice.

**bīdu•um, -ī, n.** [bis, twice + diēs, day], space or period of two days.

**cās•us, -ūs, m.** [cadō, fall], accident, chance, misfortune; cāsū, by chance.

**cōn•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectrum**  
 [speciō, look], look at, discern, perceive.

**convent•us, -ūs, m.** [conveniō, come together], a coming together, meeting, assembly; court.

**dē•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [ferō, carry. App. §81], carry, take; report; bring before; bestow.

**dēmō, dēmere, dēmpsī, dēmtum** [dē + emō, take], take down, remove.

**dubitāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [dubitō, doubt], doubt, uncertainty; hesitation.

**ex•pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum** [pellō, drive], drive out, drive forth, expel.

**fūm•us, -ī, m.**, smoke.

**incend•ium, -ī, n.** [incendō, burn], fire, burning, conflagration.

**laetiti•a, -ae, f.** [laetus, joyful], joy, rejoicing.

**per•legō, -legere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [legō, read], read through, read.

**procul, adv.**, far off, from afar, in the distance, at a distance.

**recitō, 1, read aloud.**

**15. Haec** = *tragula*.

**15–16. bīduō . . . tertiō diē:** abl. of time; see App. §152.

**17. dēfertur:** the last word of the sentence dramatically delivers the first word of the next sentence. See CLIMAX; App. § 302, *d*.

**perlēctam:** i.e., *epistolam*. Cicero reads the letter aloud *after* he had himself read it. See App. §283.

### ***Subdued, but Not Broken***

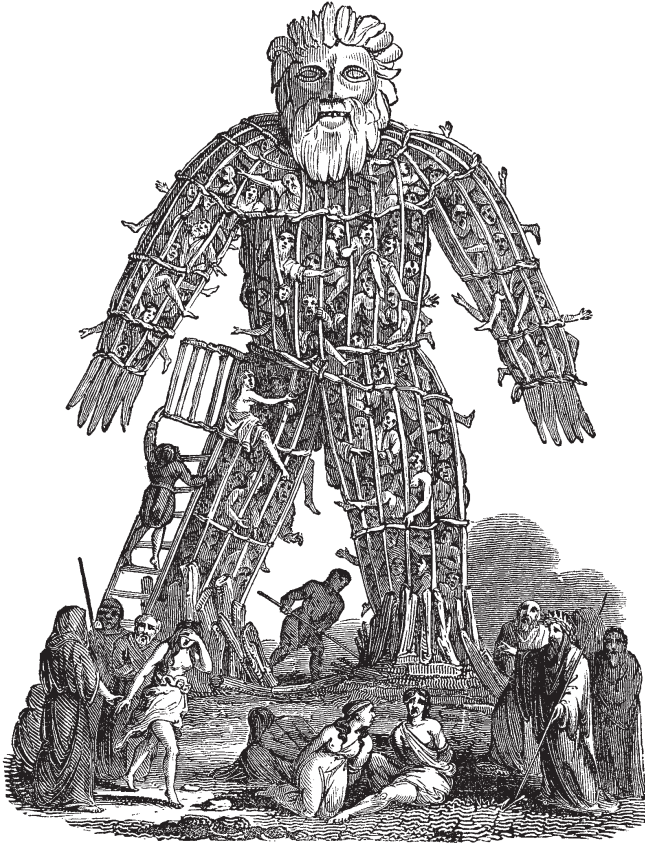
Caesar goes on to defeat the Nervii and secure the winter camps. He will soon face further unrest. The Gauls did not give up their freedom without a fight. Just how bitterly they fought for their liberty you may explore in the translation of Book Seven, which is included at the end of this volume.

C. IVLI CAESARIS  
COMMENTARIORUM  
DE BELLO GALLICO  
LIBER SEXTUS

*Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 6.13–20:*

*Caesar Surveys the Enemy*

**I**n this selection Caesar describes the customs and the religious practices of the Gauls. To Romans at home, Gaul was remote, and Caesar satisfies the natural curiosity of his audience by describing both how the Gauls are like Romans and how Gauls differ from Romans. Smart generals also study their enemy, as it provides a tactical advantage to know how your enemy is likely to behave in a given situation. Caesar thus demonstrates his qualities of leadership through his ethnographical knowledge. But Caesar also demonstrates with this description of Gallic customs his literary knowledge of the traditions and genre of ethnography going back to Herodotus. He mentions Greek authors on the topic, and thus shows his erudition and wide learning. By any measure, Caesar's literary performance is, as usual, an excellent one that was sure to impress readers at home.



The Gauls' alleged practice of human sacrifice has captured the popular imagination through the ages. Caesar's description has yielded such creative reconstructions as this image of Gallic wicker work with human victims. The 1973 British film *Wickerman*, inspired by Caesar's chronicle of Druid life, has attracted a devoted cult following.

## *Caesar DĒ BELLŌ GALLICŌ 6.13–20:* *Caesar Surveys the Enemy*

[6.13] *In omnī Galliā eōrum hominum, quī aliquō sunt  
numerō atque honōre, genera sunt duo. Nam plēbēs paene  
servōrum habētur locō, quae nihil audet per sē, nūllō adhibētur  
cōnsiliō. Plērīque, cum aut aere aliēnō aut magnitudine  
5 tribūtōrum aut iniūriā potentiōrum premuntur, sēsē in  
servitūtem dicant nōbilibus; quibus in hōs eadem omnia sunt  
iūra, quae dominīs in servōs.*

**adhib•eō, -ēre, -uī, -itum** [habeō, have],  
bring to, bring in, summon; employ, use.  
**aes, aeris, n.,** copper; *anything made of  
copper*, coin, money; **aes aliēnum,**  
*someone else's money*: debt.  
**aliēn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [alius, other], of or  
belonging to another; unfavorable.  
**aud•eō, -ēre, ausus sum** (App. §74), dare,  
risk, venture.  
**dicō, 1** [dicō, say], give over, surrender.  
**domin•us, -ī, m.,** master.  
**Galli•a, -ae, f.,** Gaul.  
**hon•ōs, -ōris, m.,** honor, regard, glory,  
distinction; honorable position, office.  
**iniūri•a, -ae, f.** [in + iūs, right], wrong;  
outrage, damage, violence.

**iūs, iūris, n.,** law, justice; authority.  
**magnitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [magnus, large], large  
size.  
**nōbil•is, -e, adj.** [nōscō, know], well-known;  
of noble birth, noble.  
**nūll•us, -a, -um, adj.** [ne- + ūllus, any], not  
any, no.  
**paene, adv.** nearly, almost.  
**plēbs, plēbis, or plēbēs, plēbēi, f.,**  
populace, common people.  
**pot•ēns, -entis, adj.** [pres. part. of possum,  
be able], powerful, influential.  
**servit•ūs, -ūtis, f.** [servus, slave], slavery.  
**serv•us, -ī, m.,** slave, servant.  
**tribūt•um, -ī, n.** [tribuo, render, pay],  
tribute, tax.

**1–2. aliquō . . . numerō atque honōre:** descriptive abl.; see App. §141. But what does it mean to be “of any number and distinction”? Think about what it means to have “some portion” of a quality. These are men who exist in “considerable” numbers and who enjoy “significant” status.

**2. plēbēs:** the “common people” likely outnumbered the groups Caesar will describe, but they lacked distinction and political importance (*honōs*).

**3. servōrum . . . locō:** “as slaves”; abl. of respect or specification; see App. §149.

**nūllō:** an older dat. form of *nūllus*. Many editions change the reading to the standard dat. *nūlli*, but it is good to keep in mind that the linguistic world is not as regular as grammars sometimes lead students to believe.

**4. aere aliēnō:** “debt” was a problem for many Romans, even upper-class Romans.

Does Caesar suggest to readers at Rome that the situation for debtors at Rome is better than it is in Gaul?

**5. iniūriā potentiōrum:** “by the violence of the powerful.” The Gauls did not have an organized police force, public prosecutors, or an impartial judicial system. The only protection from powerful men was the protection of a powerful man.

**6. nōbilibus:** the “nobles” are distinguished men because they command wealth and other men. Indebted commoners surrender themselves to them because slavery is apparently a more attractive option than debt, taxes, and violence.

**quibus:** dat. of possession; see App. §117.

**in hōs = in plēbēs.**

**7. quae:** Caesar has omitted the verb *sunt* from the rel. clause.

10 *Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad hos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causam concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore.*

**adulēscēns, -entis, m.** [*pres. part. of adolēscō, grow up*], youth, young man.  
**con•currō, -currere, -cursī, -cursum** [*currō, run*], run or rush together; hurry, run, rush; run to the rescue; come, gather.  
**disciplīn•a, -ae, f.** [*discō, learn*], learning, discipline; instruction, teaching; system.  
**divīn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*divus, divine*], of the gods, divine, sacred.  
**Druid•ēs, -um, m.,** the Druids, *the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain.*  
**hon•ōs, -ōris, m.,** honor, regard, glory, distinction; honorable position, office.

**interpretor, 1** [*interpres, interpreter*], interpret, explain, settle, handle.  
**inter•sum, -esse, -fuī, — [sum, be.** App. §66], be or lie between, intervene; be present *at*, take part *in*.  
**privāt•us, -a, -um, adj.,** private, individual.  
**prōcurō, 1** [*curō, care*], care for, attend to.  
**religi•ō, -ōnis, f.,** religion; *in pl.*, religious ceremonies, rites; superstitions.  
**sacrific•ium, -ī, n.** [*sacer, sacred + faciō, make*], (animal) sacrifice.

**8. Druidum:** “the class (*genus*) of Druids.” Caesar omits *genus*, which the reader can supply from *generibus*.

**9. equitum:** “the class (*genus*) of cavalry”; i.e., men who can afford a horse. The class is both social and military, as Gauls, like Romans in earlier times (this was no longer the case in Caesar’s day), had to supply their own military equipment.

**Illī =** “the former men,” i.e., the Druids.

**rēbus divīnīs:** “divine matters”; i.e., all rites, ceremonies, etc., pertaining to proper worship of the gods.

**10. religiōnēs:** “religious issues”; hence pl.

**11–12. magnō . . . honore:** descriptive abl.; see App. §141.

**12. hī =** *Druidēs*.

**eōs =** *adulēscētēs*, of course, but also *Gallōs* more generally.

15 *Nam ferē dē omnibus contrōversiis publicis privātisque  
cōstituunt, et, sī quod est admissum facinus, sī caedēs facta,  
sī dē hērēditāte, dē finibus contrōversia est, idem dēcernunt,  
praemia poenāsque cōstituunt; sī quī aut privātus aut populus  
eōrum dēcrētō nōn stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena  
apud eōs est gravissima.*

**ad•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [mittō, send], admit; commit; incur.

**caed•ēs, -is, f.** [caedō, cut], slaughter, massacre, murder.

**dē•cernō, -cernere, -crēvī, -crētum** [cernō, separate; decide], decide, vote, decree.

**dēcrēt•um, -ī, n.** [dēcernō, decide], decision, decree, order.

**facin•us, -oris, n.** [faciō, do], deed; misdeed, outrage, crime.

**hērēdi•tās, -tātis, f.** [hērēs, heir], inheritance.

**inter•dicō, -dicere, -dixī, -dictum** [dicō, say], prohibit, exclude, forbid, interdict;

**aquā atque ignī interdicere**, forbid the use of fire and water, exile, banish.

**poen•a, -ae, f.**, punishment, penalty.

**praem•ium, -ī, n.**, distinction, prize, reward.

**privāt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, private.

**sacrific•ium, -ī, n.** [sacer, sacred + faciō, make], sacrifice.

**stō, stāre, steti, statum**, stand, abide by.

**13–14. dē . . . contrōversiis . . . cōstituunt:** the Druids served as judges of civil matters as well as religious matters. For this reason too, they enjoyed great power and prestige, and would subsequently attract the jealous attention of later Roman emperors who suppressed them (but this will take place well after Caesar's day).

**14. quod** = *aliquod*; see App. §174.

**facta:** Caesar omits *est*.

**15. dē hērēditāte:** crimes like murder may be more spectacular, but most law concerns property, and inheritance is a good example.

**idem:** "the same men," i.e., the Druids. See App. §58.

**16. quī:** "any (litigant)"; i.e., "any(one)," who appears before the Druids for judgement. See App. §62.

**aut privātus aut populus:** "either an individual or an (entire) tribe."

**17. dēcrētō:** "(according to the terms of) the decree"; abl. of attendant circumstances; see App. §142, *b*.

**sacrificiis:** from (*animal*) sacrifices (*and the associated communal meals, hence society*); abl. of separation; see App. §134.

**18. eōs** = *Gallōs*.



- 20 *Quibus ita est interdictum, hī numerō impiōrum ac scelerātōrum habentur, hīs omnēs dēcēdunt, aditum sermōnemque dēfugiunt, nē quid ex contāgiōne incommodī accipiant, neque hīs petentibus iūs redditur neque honōs ūllus commūnicātur. His autem omnibus Druidibus praeest ūnus, quī summam inter eōs habet auctōritātem. Hōc mortuō aut sī quī ex reliquīs excellit dignitāte*
- 25 *succēdit, aut, sī sunt plūrēs parēs, suffrāgiō Druidum,*

**adit-us, -ūs, m.** [adeō, go to], approach, right to approach, access.  
**auctori-tās, -tātis, f.** [auctor, producer], influence, authority.  
**commūnicō, i** [commūnis, common], make common, communicate, share.  
**contāgi-ō, -ōnis, f.** [contingō, touch], contact.  
**dē-cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], go from or away, leave, forsake.  
**dē-fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitum** [fugiō, flee], flee from, run away, shun.  
**digni-tās, -tātis, f.** [dignus, worthy], (personal) merit, status, rank.  
**Druid-ēs, -um, m.,** the Druids, the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain.  
**ex-cellō, -cellere, —, —, excel, surpass.**  
**hon-ōs, -ōris, m.,** honor, regard, glory, distinction; honorable position, office.  
**impi-us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + pius, loyal], without reverence for gods, parents, country: ungodly, disrespectful, unpatriotic.  
**incommod-um, -ī, n.** [incommodus, inconvenient], inconvenience, disadvantage, trouble; loss, injury.  
**inter-dicō, -dicere, -dixī, -dictum** [dicō, say], prohibit, exclude, forbid, interdict;

**aquā atque ignī interdicere**, forbid the use of fire and water, exile, banish.  
**iūs, iūris, n.,** (human) law, justice; rights. Compare: **fās**, divine law.  
**morior, morī, mortuus sum** [mors, death], die.  
**pār, paris, adj.,** equal, like, similar; equal to, a match for; with words of number and quantity, the same.  
**prae-sum, -esse, -fui, —** [sum, be. App. §77], be before or over, be in command of, rule over, be at the head of.  
**red-dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [red- + dō, give], give back, return, restore; give or return something due or owed; make or cause to be; render.  
**scelerāt-us, -a, -um, adj.** [scelerō, pollute], accursed, infamous; as noun, criminal.  
**serm-ō, -ōnis, m.,** conversation, interview, speech.  
**suc-cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], go or come under; come up to, come up, advance, be next to; succeed, take the place of.  
**suffrāg-ium, -ī, n.,** vote, ballot.  
**ūll-us, -a, -um, gen. ūllius** (App. §32), adj., a single, any.

**19. Quibus . . . hī:** “Those, upon whom a prohibition has been placed,” etc. The rel. **quibus** has been placed before its antecedent **hī** for emphasis and to facilitate the sequence of thought from the previous sentence.

**numerō:** “in the number,” i.e., “among” or “as”; abl. of respect; see App. §149.

**20. hīs:** dat. of reference; see App. §120. In other words, all people shun these men.

**21. nē . . . accipiant:** subjunctive in a clause of (negative) purpose; see App. §225, b.

**quid . . . incommodī** = *aliquid incommodi*; “any trouble”; see App. §174 and, for the participle gen., §101.

**21–22. petentibus iūs:** “when they seek justice”; see App. §283.

**24. Hōc mortuō:** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**quī** = *aliquī*; see App. §174.

**dignitāte:** abl. of respect; see App. §149.

**25. parēs: parēs dignitāte.**

nōnnumquam *etiam armīs dē* principātū contendunt. *Hī certō annī tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regiō tōtius Galliae media habētur, cōnsidunt in locō cōsecrātō. Hūc omnēs undique, quī contrōversiās habent, conveniunt eōrumque dēcrētis*  
 30 *iūdiiciisquē pārent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam trāslāta esse exīstimātur, et nunc, quī dīligentius eam rem cognōscere volunt, plērumque illō discendī causā proficiscuntur.*

**Carnut-ēs, -um, m.,** the Carnutes (a people in central Gaul).

**cōnsecrō, 1** [**sacrō**, dedicate], dedicate, consecrate.

**cōn-sidō, -sidere, -sēdī, -sessum** [**sīdō**, sit down], settle; take a position.

**con-tendō, -tendere, -tendī, -tentum** [**tendō**, stretch], push forward, hasten; march; strive, contend, fight; insist.

**dēcrēt-um, -ī, n.** [**dēcernō**, decide], decision, decree, order.

**diligenter, adv.** [**diligēs**, careful], carefully; with exactness, pains, or care.

**disciplin-a, -ae, f.** [**discō**, learn], learning, discipline; instruction, teaching; system.

**discō, discere, didici, —**, learn, be taught.

**hūc, adv.** [*from hic*, this], to this place, hither, here; against these, to these.

**inde, adv.,** from that place; then.

**iūdic-ium, -ī, n.** [**iūdex**, judge], judicial proceedings, trial; opinion, judgement;

**iūdicium facere**, express an opinion;

**iūdi-ciō**, by design, purposely.

**medi-us, -a, -um, adj.,** in the middle of; in the middle, intervening, intermediate; **locus medius utriusque**, a place midway between the two.

**nōnnumquam, adv.** [**nōn** + **numquam**, never], sometimes.

**nunc, adv.,** now, at present, at this time.

**pāreo, 2**, appear; obey, yield to, be subject to.

**plērumque, adv.** [**plērusque**, the greater part], mostly, generally; very often.

**principāt-us, -ūs, m.** [**princeps**, chief], chief place or position; leadership.

**regi-ō, -ōnis, f.** [**regō**, keep straight], line, direction; quarter, region, country, territory, place.

**reperiō, reperire, repperi, repertum** [**re** + **pariō**, procure], procure, find out, discover, ascertain; devise.

**trāns-ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry or bring over, transfer.

**undique, adv.** [**unde**, whence], on all sides, everywhere.

**26. armīs:** their use of weapons underlines how different the Druids were from what we might think when we hear the word “priest,” and it is also interesting to consider in light of what Caesar says about Druids in the next section: they were exempt from military duties.

**27. tempore:** abl. of time; see App. §152.

**quae regiō:** “which region”; Caesar has placed the antecedent inside the rel. clause. One may also translate, “a region, which.”

**28. locō cōsecrātō:** the “consecrated spot” was probably a sacred grove.

**32. eam rem:** i.e., the *disciplina* or religious system of the Druids.

**illō:** “to that place,” i.e., Britain.

[6.14] *Druidēs ā bellō abesse cōsuērunt neque tribūta ūnā cum reliquīs pendunt; militiae vacatiōnem omniumque rērum habent immunitātem. Tantīs excitātī praemiīs et suā sponte multī in disciplinam conveniunt et ā parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ēdiscere dicuntur. Itaque annōs nōnnūllī vicēnōs in disciplinā permanent.*

**absum, abesse, āfui**, — [sum, be. App.

§78], be away, be lacking or free from.

**disciplīn•a, -ae, f.** [discō, learn], learning, discipline; instruction, teaching; system.

**Druid•ēs, -um, m.**, the Druids, the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain.

**ēdiscō, -discere, -didici**, — [discō, learn], learn thoroughly, learn by heart.

**excitō**, 1 [citō, rouse], call forth, excite, animate, arouse; erect, construct (towers); kindle (fires).

**ibi**, adv., there, in that place.

**immūni•tās, -tātis, f.** [in + mūnis, burden], freedom from public burdens, duties, or taxes; exemption.

**militi•a, -ae, f.** [miles, soldier], military service, warfare.

**nōnnūll•us, -a, -um, adj.** [nōn + nūllus, none], some, several; pl. as noun: some, several.

**parēn•s, -tis, m.**, f. [pariō, bring forth], parent.

**pendō, pendere, pependi, pēsum**, weigh, weigh out; weigh out money, pay, pay out; with poenās, suffer.

**per•maneō, -manēre, -mānsī, -māsum** [maneō, remain], stay through or to the end, stay, remain; continue, persist.

**praem•ium, -ī, n.**, distinction, prize, reward.

**propinqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [prope, near], near, neighboring, close at hand; pl. as noun, relatives.

**spontis**, gen. and sponte, abl. (obs. nom. spōns), f., of one's own accord, willingly.

**tribūt•um, -ī, n.** [tribuō, render, pay], tribute, tax.

**vacāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [vacō, be empty], exemption.

**vers•us, -ūs, m.** [vertō, turn], turning, verse, poetry.

**vicēn•ī, -ae, -a, distributive num. adj.** [vīginti, twenty], twenty each, twenty.

1. **cōsuērunt** = *consuēverunt*; see App. §72. Caesar uses this perf. tense verb with a pres. meaning; see App. §193, I, a.

3. **Tantīs . . . praemiīs**: “such great rewards”: on the one hand, exemption from military duty, no taxes, no other public duties, and, on the other hand, considerable judicial and religious authority.

5. **versuum**: it is easier to memorize metrical texts. Sacred texts also frequently employ meter as a means to elevate the language.

6. **annōs . . . vicēnōs**: acc. of time (see App. §130), and, in this instance, a long time. Perhaps the length of time required and the nature of one's studies (memorizing verses) dissuaded some students, despite the other advantages. On the other hand, one can see why family members were eager to have a Druid in the family!

- Neque fās esse exīstimant ea litterīs mandāre, cum in reliquīs ferē  
rēbus, pūblicīs prīvātisque ratiōnibus, Graecīs litterīs ūtantur.  
Id mihi duābus dē causīs instituisse videntur, quod neque  
10 in vulgum disciplīnam efferri velint neque eōs, quī discunt,  
litterīs cōnfisōs minus memoriae studēre: quod ferē plērīsque  
accidit, ut praesidiō litterārum diligentiam in perdiscendō ac  
memoriam remittant.

**cōn•fidō, -fidere, -fisi, -fisum** [fidō, trust],  
rely on, feel confident; **cōnfisus**, perf.  
part. with pres. meaning: relying on.  
**diligenti•a, -ae, f.**, painstaking care.  
**disciplin•a, -ae, f.** [discō, learn], learning,  
discipline; instruction, teaching; system.  
**discō, discere, didici, —**, learn, be taught.  
**efferō, efferre, extuli, elātum** [ex + ferō],  
carry away; raise; make known; elate.  
**egō, mei** (App. §51), I, me; pl. **nōs**, we.  
**fās, n.**, indeclin., divine law, religiously  
correct, right, proper, permissible.  
Compare: **iūs**, human law.  
**Graec•us, -a, -um, adj.**, Greek.  
**in•stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitūtum**  
[statuō, set up], draw up; train; begin,  
decide upon, adopt.

**mandō, 1** [manus, hand], entrust, commit;  
command.  
**memori•a, -ae, f.** [memor, mindful], the  
faculty of memory; memory.  
**per•discō, -discere, -didici, —** [discō,  
learn], learn thoroughly, learn by heart.  
**praesid•ium, -i, n.** [praesideō, guard],  
protection; fortification; help, aid; safety.  
**privāt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, private.  
**rati•ō, -ōnis, f.**, [reor, reckon], reckoning,  
account; arrangement; state of affairs; in  
pl., transactions.  
**re•mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum** [mittō],  
send back, return; release, give up.  
**stude•ō, -ēre, -uī, —**, be eager; strive after,  
devote oneself to; accustom oneself to.  
**vulg•us, -i, n.**, the common people.

7. **ea**: “these things”; i.e., the subject matter  
of their studies.

7–8. **cum . . . ūtantur**: subjunctive in a  
concessive clause; see App. §§238–239.

8. **Graecīs litterīs**: abl. with the special de-  
ponent verb *ūtor*; see App. §145. The Gauls  
used the Greek alphabet to represent their  
own language. Eventually, they would adopt  
Roman letters and the Latin language.

9. **mihi**: Caesar speaks to us as an author,  
hence his use of the first person. When he de-  
scribes his role in the action of an event, he  
uses the third person.

9–10. **quod . . . velint**: Caesar uses the  
subjunctive because he is presenting someone  
else’s explanation; see App. §244. The implied  
subjects of **velint** are the *Druidēs*.

10. **eōs**: acc. subject of the complementary  
inf. **studēre**, which, like **efferri**, depends on  
**velint**.

11. **litterīs cōnfisōs**: “because they relied  
on written texts”; see App. §283 on the use

of participles in place of subordinate clauses.  
The Druids were hardly alone in arguing that  
literacy destroyed memory. Plato made simi-  
lar arguments. Today you might hear people  
talk about calculators, computers, and the  
Internet in similar terms.

11–12. **quod . . . accidit**: we may supply  
an unexpressed antecedent *id*, and conclude  
that the phrase is in apposition to the previ-  
ous explanation in order to supply supporting  
evidence. Alternatively, we may view **quod**  
as the equivalent of *et id*, i.e., *conjunctio relativa*  
(App. §173, a.). Note, however, the switch to  
the ind. mood, which is the equivalent of in-  
serting “in fact.” Caesar states what he thinks  
of (or knows) as fact in the ind.

12. **in perdiscendō**: see App. §§287, 294  
on the use of the gerund.

12–13. **ut . . . remittant**: subjunctive in a  
clause of result; see App. §229.

- 15 *In primis hoc volunt persuādere, nōn interire animās, sed ab aliis post mortem trānsire ad aliōs, atque hōc maximē ad virtutem excitārī putant metū mortis neglēctō. Multa praetereā dē sīderibus atque eōrum mōtū, dē mundi ac terrārum magnitudine, dē rērum nātūrā, dē deōrum immortalium vī ac potestāte disputant et iuventūtī trādunt.*

**anim•a, -ae, f.**, breath, life, soul.

**de•us, -ī (nom. pl.: dii; dat. pl.: dis), m.**, god.

**disputō, 1 [putō, reckon]**, discuss, debate about.

**excitō, 1 [citō, rouse]**, call forth, excite, animate, arouse; erect, construct (towers); kindle (fires).

**immortal•is, -e, adj.** [in + mortālis, mortal], not mortal, immortal, deathless.

**inter•eō, -ire, -iī, -itum [eō, go. App. §84]**, perish, die.

**iuvent•ūs, -ūtis, f.** [iūvenis, young], period of youth, from seventeen to forty-five years; the youth, the young men.

**magis, adv. comp.** [from magnus, large], more, rather; *superl.*: maximē, especially.

**magnitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [magnus, large], large size.

**met•us, -ūs, m.** [metuō, fear], fear, dread, terror, anxiety, apprehension; **metū territāre**, terrify, terrorize; **hōc metū = metū huius rei**, from fear of this.

**mōt•us, -ūs, m.** [moveō, move], movement; uprising, disturbance.

**mund•us, -ī, m.**, world, universe.

**nātūr•a, -ae, f.** [nāscor, be born], nature; character.

**neg•legō, -legere, -lēxi, -lēctum [neg + legō, choose, regard]**, not heed, not pay attention to, disregard, neglect.

**post, prep. with acc.**, behind, after.

**potes•tās, -tātis, f.** [potēns, powerful], power, ability, authority; control, sway, rule; chance, opportunity, possibility; **potestātem facere**, grant permission, give a chance.

**praetereā, adv.** [praeter, beyond], beyond this, besides, furthermore.

**putō, 1**, think, consider, believe.

**sīd•us, -eris, n.**, star; constellation.

**terr•a, -ae, f.**, earth, land, soil, ground; region, district; **terrae (pl.) and orbis terrārum**, the world.

**trā•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum [trāns + dō, give]**, give over; entrust; teach.

**trāns•eō, -ire, -iī, -itum [eō, go. App. §84]**, cross; march through; migrate.

**14. animās:** this word serves as the acc. subject of the inf. **interire** and as the unexpressed subject of the inf. **trānsire**.

**14–15. nōn . . . aliōs:** these phrases are in apposition with **hoc**, the direct object of the complementary inf. **persuādere**, and they serve to explain what “this” is that they wish to teach.

**ab aliis . . . ad aliōs:** “from some people . . . to other people.”

**15. hōc:** abl. of means; see App. §143.

**16. excitārī:** this pass. inf. in indirect statement is dependent on **putant**, but lacks an acc.

subject. We might once again supply *animās*, but we could also simply supply a generic *hominēs*, in whose bodies the transmigrating souls reside until their next transmigration.

**metū . . . neglēctō:** abl. absolute that serves to explain the reason why the doctrine promotes bravery; see App. §150.

**Multa:** “many things,” i.e., many doctrines or teachings. The Druids cover all subject areas.

- [6.15] *Alterum genus est equitum. Hī, cum est ūsus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod ferē ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solēbat, utī aut ipsī iniūriās inferrent aut illātās prōpulsārent), omnēs in bellō versantur, atque*  
 5 *eōrum ut quisque est genere cōpiisque amplissimus, ita plūrimōs circum sē ambactōs clientēsque habet. Hanc ūnam grātiā potentiamque nōvērunt.*

**ambact•us, -ī, m.,** vassal.

**ampl•us, -a, um, adj.,** of large extent, large; illustrious, noble; generous, magnificent.

**circum, prep. with acc. [circus, circle],** around, about, near.

**cliēs, clientis, m., f. [clueō, hear, obey],** client, vassal, dependent, retainer.

**grāti•a, -ae, f. [grātus, pleasing],** favor, goodwill, gratitude, esteem, influence, popularity.

**in•cidō, -cidere, -cidī, — [ad + cadō, fall],** fall into or upon; fall in with, meet; happen, arise.

**in•ferō, inferre, intulī, illātum [ferō, carry. App. §81],** carry into, import, inflict, cause, produce; cast into.

**iniūri•a, -ae, f. [in + iūs, right],** wrong; outrage, damage, violence.

**nōscō, nōscere, nōvī, nōtum, learn; nōvī, perf.,** have learned, hence know.

**potenti•a, -ae, f. [potēs, powerful],** chief power, supremacy.

**propulso (1) [propello, drive forward],** to drive off, repel

**quotannis, adv. [quot, as many as + annus, year],** every year, yearly.

**soleō, solēre, solitus sum (App. §74),** be accustomed, be used to.

**versō, 1, turn; deal with; pass. as deponent,** turn oneself; be, remain; engage in; fight.

**1. equitum:** having dealt with Druids, Caesar proceeds to the second important class of men, the *genus equitum* or “class of cavalry,” i.e., the military order, against whom he wages his battles.

**1–4. Hī . . . omnēs = equitēs.** Note the HYPERBATON (App. 302, f.).

**1–2. cum est . . . atque . . . incidit:** “when-ever,” etc.; see App. §241 on temporal *cum* with the indicative.

**2. quod = et id;** see App. §173, a.

**3–4. utī aut . . . inferrent aut . . . prōpulsārent:** subjunctives in substantive clauses of result; see App. §229.

**4. illātās = iniūriās ab aliīs illātās.** The reader is expected to supply such details from the previous phrase. Latin style prefers terseness. English tends toward a fuller explanation.

**4–6. atque eōrum ut quisque est . . . ita . . . habet:** “and in proportion as (*ut*) each is . . . , in such proportion (*ita*) each of them has . . . .” This is another example of ellipsis or gapping, but here in advance (something we do not do in English). Before *eōrum*, we must thus supply *quisque*, which also serves as the unexpressed subject of *habet*.

**5. genere cōpiisque:** ablatives of respect; see App. §149.

**6. ambactōs clientēsque:** powerful men are surrounded by crowds of men who obey them. We saw a prime example of this with the story of Orgetorix in the selections from the first book of Caesar.

**6–7. Hanc . . . nōvērunt:** “they know this single influence and power”; i.e., the kind of influence and power that derives from having large groups of followers who obey.

- [6.16] *Nātiō est omnis Gallōrum admodum dēdita religiōnibus, atque ob eam causam, quī sunt adfectī graviōribus morbīs quīque in proeliīs periculisque versantur, aut prō victimīs hominēs immolant aut sē immolātūrōs vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus ūtuntur, quod, prō vitā hominis nisi hominis vitā reddātur, nōn posse deōrum immortalium nūmen placārī arbitrantur, publicēque eiusdem generis habent institūta sacrificia.*

**adminis•ter, -trī, m.** [minister, servant], attendant, priest.  
**admodum, adv.** [modus, measure], literally: up to the measure; very much, very; with numbers, fully; with negative, at all.  
**af•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [ad + faciō, do], do to, treat, affect; afflict.  
**dē•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [dō, give], give up, give over, yield, surrender; devote; sē dēdere, submit, surrender.  
**deus, -ī (nom. pl.: diī; dat. pl.: dis), m., god.**  
**Druid•ēs, -um, m.,** the Druids, the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain.  
**immolō, 1, sacrifice.**  
**immortāl•is, -e, adj.** [in + mortālis, mortal], not mortal, immortal, deathless.  
**in•stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitūtum** [statuō, set up], set up or put in order, draw up; train, educate; procure, prepare; build, construct; begin, determine, decide upon, adopt.  
**morb•us, -ī, m.,** illness, sickness, disease.

**nāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [nāscor, be born], people, tribe, nation.  
**nisi, conj.,** [ne- + sī, if], if not, except, unless.  
**nūm•en, -inis, n.,** divinity, god; divine force or will.  
**ob, prep. with acc.,** on account of, for.  
**placō, 1, appease, please.**  
**publicē, adv.** [pūblicus, public], publicly, in the name of the state, on behalf of the state.  
**red•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [red- + dō, give], give back, return, restore; give or return something due or owed; make or cause to be; render.  
**religi•ō, -ōnis, f.,** religion; in pl., religious ceremonies, rites; superstitions.  
**sacrific•ium, -ī, n.** [sacer, sacred + faciō, make], sacrifice.  
**versō, 1, turn; deal with; pass. as deponent,** turn oneself; be, remain; be engaged in; fight.  
**victim•a, -ae, f.,** victim; a sacrificial animal.  
**vīt•a, -ae, f.** [cf. vīvō, live], life, lifestyle.  
**voveō, vovēre, vōvī, vōtum, vow.**

**1. dēdita religiōnibus:** “devoted to religious ceremonies and superstitions.” Among educated Romans and Greeks, excessive religiosity was considered a sign of weakness. The Romans took great care to worship the gods correctly, but they were suspicious of those who were unduly fearful or in awe of the supernatural.

**2. graviōribus morbīs:** abl. of manner; see App. §142.

**4. immolātūrōs:** fut. active inf. with *esse* omitted in indirect statement dependent on *vovent*.

**4–5. administrisque . . . Druidibus:** “Druids as officiating priests”; abl. with the deponent verb *ūtōr*; see App. §145.

**5–6. nisi . . . reddātur:** subjunctive in the protasis (if-clause) of a condition in indirect statement; see App. §272. Ancient religion often operated on the principle of “like for like.”

**6. nūmen:** acc. subject of the inf. *posse* in indirect statement dependent on *arbitrantur*. The clause expresses the conclusion (apodosis) of a condition in indirect statement; see App. §272.

**7. habent institūta:** “they have established”; for the use of the verb *habēre* with a past part., see App. §286, b.



- 10 *Alīi immānī magnitūdine simulācra habent, quōrum contexta vīminibus membra vīvīs hominibus complent; quibus succēnsīs circumventī flammā exanimantur hominēs. Supplicia eōrum quī in fūrtō aut in latrōciniō aut aliquā noxiā sint comprehēnsī grātiōra dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, cum eius generis cōpia dēficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia dēscendunt.*

**com•pleō, -plēre, -plēvī, -plētum** [obs.:  
**plēō**, fill], fill up; complete; cover.

**com•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], lay hold of, seize, arrest.

**con•texō, -texere, -texuī, -textum** [**texō**, weave], weave or bind together, connect.

**dē•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], fail, be insufficient.

**dē•scendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēsum** [**scandō**, climb], climb down, go down, descend; have recourse (to), resort.

**de•us, -ī** (nom. pl.: **dīi**; dat. pl.: **dīs**), m., god.  
**ex•animō**, 1 [**anima**, breath], deprive of breath, render breathless, exhaust; kill.

**flamm•a, -ae, f.**, fire, blaze.

**fūrt•um, -ī, n.**, theft.

**grāti•a, -ae, f.** [**grātus**, pleasing], favor, goodwill, gratitude, esteem, influence, popularity.

**immān•is, -e, adj.**, huge, immense.

**immortal•is, -e, adj.** [**in** + **mortalis**, mortal], not mortal, immortal, deathless.

**innoc•ēns, -entis, adj.** [**in** + **nocēns**, harmful], not harmful, innocent.

**latrōcin•ium, -ī, n.** [**latrō**, robber], robbery, brigandage.

**magnitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**magnus**, large], large size.

**membr•um, -ī, n.**, limb.

**noxi•a, -ae, f.**, crime, offense.

**simulacr•um, -ī, n.** [**simulō**, make like], image, statue.

**suc•cendō, -cendere, -cendī, -cēsum**, set on fire below, kindle, burn.

**supplic•ium, -ī, n.** [**sub** + **plīcō**, bend], humiliation; sacrificing; humble request or petition, supplication; punishment, penalty, torture.

**vīm•en, -inis, n.**, a bendable stick, wicker, switch, osier.

**vīv•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**vīvō**, live], alive, living.

**8. immānī magnitūdine:** abl. of description; see App. §141.

**simulācra:** as the subordinate clause will explain, these “images” are made of wickerwork.

**9. quibus succēnsīs = et eis (simulacribus) succēnsīs;** abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**10. exanimantur hominēs:** how believable is it that Druids oversaw executions and sacrifices, in which human beings were enclosed in large wickerwork structures in human shape (*simulacra*), and then burnt alive? When we execute criminals, we no longer allow large audiences, but, in previous centuries, public hangings were attended by large crowds. The Romans, of course, put on games

before crowds where condemned criminals fought to the death or were killed by wild animals. “Human sacrifice,” on the other hand, was considered barbaric, even by Romans.

**Supplicia:** acc. subject of the inf. **esse** in indirect statement dependent on **arbitrantur**. Note too the **HYPERBATON** (App. §302, *f.*) in relation to the predicate **grātiōra**.

**10–11. quī . . . sint comprehēnsī:** subjunctive in a rel. clause of characteristic; see App. §230.

**12. dīs:** dat. with the adj. **grātiōra**; see App. §122.

**12–13. eius generis cōpia:** “a supply of this kind,” i.e., of criminally guilty victims.



- [6.17] Deum maximē Mercurium colunt. *Huius sunt plūrima simulācra: hunc omnium inventōrem artium ferunt, hunc viārum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestūs pecūniae mercātūrāsque habēre vim maximam arbitrantur.* Post hunc
- 5 Apollinem et Mārtem et Iovem et Minervam.

**Apollō, -inis, m.,** the god Apollo.

**ars, artis, f.,** skill, art; *pl.* the arts.

**colō, colere, coluī, cultum,** cultivate, dwell in; honor, worship.

**de•us, -ī (nom. pl.: dii; dat. pl.: dis), m.,** god.

**dux, ducis, m.** [dūcō, lead], leader, commander, general; guide.

**invent•or, -ōris, m.** [inveniō, find], inventor, author.

**Iuppiter, Iovis, n.** (App. §27), *m.*, Jupiter, chief god of the Roman state.

**magis, adv. comp.** [from *magnus*, large], more, rather; *superl.*: **maximē**, especially.

**Mār•s, -tis, m.,** Mars, the god of war.

**mercātūr•a, -ae, f.** [mercōr, trade], a commercial enterprise, trade.

**Mercur•ius, -ī, m.,** Mercury, a god especially associated by the Romans with trade.

**Minerv•a, -ae, f.,** the goddess Minerva, who was associated with wisdom and the liberal arts.

**pecūni•a, -ae, f.,** property, wealth; money.

**post, prep. with acc.,** behind, after.

**quaest•us, -ūs, m.** [quaerō, seek], gain, acquisition.

**simulācr•um, -ī, n.** [simulō, make like], image, statue.

**vi•a, -ae, f.,** way, road, route; journey, march.

**1. Mercurium:** the god Mercury was associated especially with business and shady deals. Caesar often accuses the Gauls of not living up to their promises. This aspect of their religion would in the minds of Caesar's readers tend to justify Caesar's opinion. It was common for all ancient people to call other people's gods by their own names. The Romans called Greek gods by Roman names, and the Greeks called Roman gods by Greek names. Caesar applies the same principle to the Celtic gods.

**2. hunc = Mercurium.** The first **hunc** is the acc. subject of the unexpressed inf. *esse* in indirect statement with **ferunt**. The second **hunc** is likewise the acc. subject of an unexpressed *esse*, but on what verb of speaking does this indirect statement depend? There are three possibilities: **ferunt**, an unexpressed verb of speaking, or **arbitrantur**. The third **hunc**, however, is the acc. subject of the inf. **habēre** in indirect statement dependent on **arbitrantur**. The repetition of **hunc** at the beginning of each phrase is called ANAPHORA

(App. §302, a.) and the lack of conjunctions ASYNDETON (App. §301, a.).

**3. viārum . . . ducem:** Mercury assisted travelers.

**3–4. quaestūs pecūniae mercātūrāsque:** again, Caesar emphasizes Mercury's mercantile interests. It is also worth mentioning that politicians of senatorial rank (Caesar would be included in this category) considered businessmen decidedly of a lower class in comparison with themselves. In our country today, successful business leaders enjoy much higher prestige than their counterparts did in Rome. Caesar likely emphasizes Mercury's status as the chief Celtic god as a way to signal to his readers that Gauls have different values from Romans.

**4. Post hunc = post Mercurium colunt.** Caesar has ellipted the verb, as he knows his readers will be able to supply it from the previous sentence. Note the POLYSYNDETON; see App. §301, f.: the chief god of the Roman state, Jupiter, is just one among many.

- Dē his eandem ferē, quam reliquae gentēs, habent opiniōnem:*  
 Apollinem morbōs dēpellere, Minervam operum atque  
 artificiōrum initia trādere, Iovem imperium caelestium  
 tenēre, Mārtē bella regere. *Huic, cum proeliō dīmīcāre*  
 10 *cōstituērunt, ea quae bellō cēperint plērumque dēvoent:*  
*cum superāvērunt, animālia capta immolant reliquāsque rēs*  
*in ūnum locum cōferunt.*

**anim•al, -ālis, n.** [anima, breath], animal,  
 living (and breathing) creature.

**Apoll•ō, -inis, m.,** the god Apollo.

**arti•ficiūm, -fici, n.** [ars, art + faciō, make],  
 a trade, handicraft; artifice, trick.

**caelest•is, -e, adj.** [caelum, sky], what is in  
 the sky, heavenly, celestial; pl. as noun: the  
 gods (who live in the sky).

**cōn•ferō, -ferre, contuli, collātus** [ferō,  
 bring. App. §81.], collect, carry.

**dē•pellō, -pellere, -puli, -pulsum** [pellō,  
 drive], drive from or away, ward off.

**dē•voveō, -vovēre, -vōvī, -vōtum** [voveō,  
 vow], consecrate, devote

**dīmīcō, 1** [micō, brandish], fight, struggle,  
 contend.

**gēns, gentis, f.,** clan, tribe; people.

**immolō, 1,** sacrifice.

**imper•ium, -ī, n.** [imperō, order], right  
 to command; authority; jurisdiction;  
 supreme, highest official power.

**init•ium, -ī, n.** [ineō, go into], beginning,  
 commencement, origin; basic elements.

**Iuppiter, Iovis, n.** (App. §27), m., Jupiter.

**Mār•s, -tis, m.,** Mars, the god of war.

**Minerv•a, -ae, f.,** the goddess Minerva.

**morb•us, -ī, m.,** illness, sickness, disease.

**opini•ō, -ōnis, f.** [opīnor, think], way  
 of thinking, opinion; impression;  
 expectation; reputation.

**op•us, -eris, n.,** work, labor; military work  
 or works, fortifications, defenses; a work  
 of engineering or architecture.

**plērumque, adv.** [plērusque, the greater  
 part], mostly, generally; very often.

**regō, regere, rēxi, rēctum,** keep straight;  
 guide, direct, control.

**superō, 1** [super, over], go over; be superior  
 to, conquer; remain.

**trā•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [trāns + dō,  
 give], give over; entrust; teach.

**6. Dē his:** i.e., *dēis*.

**eandem . . . opiniōnem:** the indirect state-  
 ment that follows depends on the speech  
 implied by an opinion. Note again the **HYPER-**  
**BATON** (App. §302, f). Caesar inserts the rel.  
 clause between the antecedent and the adj.  
 that modifies the antecedent.

**quam:** the verb *habent* has been ellipted  
 from the rel. clause.

**9. Huic = Martī.**

**10. quae . . . cēperint:** subjunctive in a rel.  
 clause of characteristic (App. §230). Note,  
 however, the tense (perf.) because the subor-  
 dinate clause depends on a principal clause  
 with a pres. tense verb (**dēvoent**). Others  
 have argued that the subjunctive derives

from implied indirect statement. However  
 you choose to explain the syntax, vowing a  
 portion of what one captured to the god who  
 assisted the endeavor was a common practice  
 in the ancient world. Especially during the  
 early Republic, Roman generals often vowed  
 temples to gods in the heat of battle, which  
 they subsequently paid for with a share of the  
 booty plundered from their conquered oppo-  
 nents. The victors paid for their promises to  
 the gods with property confiscated from the  
 defeated. The Gauls, however, did not con-  
 struct temples. They simply handed Mars's  
 share over to him directly (as Caesar goes on  
 to describe).

- 15 *Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis  
consecratis conspicari licet; neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta  
quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita  
tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu  
constitutum est.*

**aud•eō, -ēre, ausus sum** (App. §74), dare,  
risk, venture.

**cōnsecrō, 1** [**sacrō**, dedicate], dedicate,  
consecrate.

**cōnspicor, 1** [**speciō**, look], observe,  
discern, perceive.

**cruciāt•us, -ūs, m.** [**cruciō**, torture; **crux**,  
cross (used for crucifixion)], torture,  
torment.

**ex•struō, -struere, -struī, -strūctum**  
[**struō**, build], build or pile up; construct,  
build.

**licet, licēre, licuit and licitum est, impers.**,  
it is permitted.

**neg•legō, -legere, -lēxi, -lēctum** [**neg** +  
**legō**, choose, regard], not heed, not pay  
attention to, disregard, neglect.

**occultō, 1** [**occultus**, secret], hide, keep  
secret, conceal.

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum**, place, put,  
place over; lay down, set aside; station,

post; regard, consider; make, build; with  
**castra**, pitch; *pass.*: be situated; with **in**  
and the *abl.*, depend on, in addition to the  
above meanings.

**quispiam, quidpiam and quispiam,  
quaepiam, quodpiam, indef. pron.** (App.  
§62), anyone, any.

**religi•ō, -ōnis, f.**, religion; in *pl.*, religious  
ceremonies, rites; superstitions.

**saepe, adv.**, often, frequently.

**supplic•ium, -ī, n.** [**sub** + **plicō**, bend],  
humiliation; sacrificing; humble request  
or petition, supplication; punishment,  
penalty, torture.

**tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātum**, lift up;  
take on board; remove; destroy.

**tumul•us, -ī, m.** [**tumeō**, swell], swelling;  
mound, hill.

**13. harum rerum:** “of these things,”  
i.e., that have been captured from defeated  
enemies.

**exstructos:** “that have been constructed”;  
the part. is used as a substitute for a subordi-  
nate clause; see App. §283.

**13–14. locis consecratis:** *abl.* of place  
where; see App. §151.

**14–16. ut . . . quispiam . . . auderet:** sub-  
junctive in a substantive clause of result; see  
App. §228.

**14–15. neglecta . . . religione:** “without  
regard for religious rules”; *abl.* absolute; see  
App. §150.

**15. capta:** “things that have been cap-  
tured”; i.e., in battle.

**posita:** “things that have been deposited”;  
i.e., in a pile for Mars, after having been cap-  
tured in war.

**16. ei rei:** there are at least two possibilities  
for construing this phrase. The simplest is to  
understand it as “for this crime,” i.e., **ei** modi-  
fies **rei** as an *adj.* Another is to construe both  
words as *dat.*, but the first as an indirect object  
and *pron.*, i.e., “for him (**ei**),” referring to the  
“someone” (**quispiam**), who dared steal from  
Mars, and the second as a *dat.* of purpose, i.e.,  
punishment “for the crime (**rei**).”

**cum cruciātu:** *abl.* of manner; see App.  
§142.

[6.18] *Gallī sē omnēs ab Dīte patre prōgnātōs praedicant idque ab Druidibus prōditum dīcunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis nōn numerō diērum sed noctium finiunt; diēs nātālēs et mēnsū et annōrum initia sīc observant ut noctem diēs subsequātur.*

**Dis, Ditis, m.,** Dis, the god Pluto, god of the underworld.

**Druid-ēs, -um, m.,** the Druids, the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain.

**finiō, 4** [**finis**, limit], limit, bound; determine, measure.

**init-ium, -ī, n.** [**ineō**, go into], beginning, commencement, origin; edge of a country, borders.

**mēns-is, -is, m.,** month.

**nātāl-is, -e, adj.** [**nāscor**, be born], pertaining to birth, natal; **diēs**, birthday.

**ob, prep. with acc.,** on account of, for.

**observō, 1** [**servō**, give heed], observe, mark, watch; regard, obey; celebrate.

**pat-er, -ris, m.,** father.

**prae-dicō, 1** [**dicō**, proclaim], proclaim publicly or before others; declare, report, tell of.

**prōd-ō, -dere, -didi, -ditum** [**dō**, give], give forth, reveal; betray; hand down.

**prōgnāt-us, -a, -um, adj.** [**nāscor**, be born], born; descended, sprung.

**sīc, adv.,** so, thus, in this manner.

**spat-ium, -ī, n.,** space, distance; period or length of time.

**sub-sequor, -sequi, -secūtus** [**sequor**, follow], follow closely; follow on.

**1. ab Dīte patre:** descent from Pluto, god of the underworld, may have various motivations. Many ancient peoples liked to think of themselves as “sprung from the Earth” or, to use the Greek term, autochthonous. Such claims provided religious and organic claims to the land people already occupied. How could anyone else claim it? On the other hand, all who live are descendants of the dead (even if some of our ancestors are still alive, as the ones who are still alive are descended, if we go far enough back, from the dead). The Romans, although they did not claim autochthony (their foundation legends were rather different—refugees from Troy, etc.), had a well-developed cult of departed ancestors, whom they called the *Dī Mānēs* (“divine souls”).

**sē . . . prōgnātōs:** indirect statement (with *esse* omitted) dependent on **praedicant**.

**2. prōditum:** again, supply *esse*.

**Ob eam causam:** Father Dis was god of the underworld where it is dark.

**3. nōn numerō diērum sed noctium:** “not by the number of days, but by the number of

nights.” Although we generally count days, we sometimes count nights as well, primarily when we stay at hotels. The Gauls began the new day at sunset. Day followed night. Other ancient peoples began the new day at dawn or at noon. The Romans were actually odd, inasmuch as they began their days at midnight. We follow Roman practice, but beginning at midnight does introduce oddities that Roman law and religion had to deal with, as the night of one legal and religious day was split into two parts: one part of night occurred after midnight and before dawn and the other after sunset and before midnight. On the other hand, Roman armies measured night as if it were continuous (which it is, of course, as we experience it) by dividing the hours of darkness into twelve equal hours.

**4. initia:** birthdays, months, and years all begin at night (sunset). One might imagine a Gaul singing “Happy birthnight to you,” etc.

**4–5. ut . . . subsequātur:** subjunctive in a clause of result; see App. §230.

*In reliquīs vitae institūtis hōc ferē ab reliquīs differunt, quod suōs liberōs, nisi cum adolēverunt, ut mūnus militiae sustinēre possint, palam ad sē adire nōn patiuntur filiumque puerilī aetāte in pūblicō in cōspectū patris assistere turpe dūcunt.*

**ad•eō, -ire, -iī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], go to, approach, visit, assail, attack.

**ad•olēscō, -olēre, -olēvī, -ultum**, grow up. **aet•ās, -ātis, f.**, period of life, age.

**as•sistō, -sistere, astitī**, —[ad + sistō, stand], stand by or near.

**cōspect•us, -ūs, m.** [conspiciō, look at], sight, view; presence.

**differō, differre, distuli, dilātum** [ferō, carry. App. §81], scatter, spread; put off, defer; be different, differ.

**fil•ius, -ī, m.**, son.

**institūt•um, -ī, n.**, established plan or principle; custom, institution, habit.

**liber•ī, -ōrum, m.** [liber, free], the non-slave members of a family or household; children.

**militi•a, -ae, f.** [mīles, soldier], military service, warfare.

**mūn•us, -eris, n.**, duty, service, task; present.

**nisi, conj.** [ne- + sī, if], if not, except, unless.

**palam, adv.**, openly, publicly.

**pat•er, -ris, m.**, father.

**pator, pati, passus sum**, endure, suffer; allow.

**pueril•is, -e, adj.** [puer, child], childish.

**turp•is, -e, adj.**, ugly, unseemly; shameful, disgraceful, dishonorable.

**vīt•a, -ae, f.** [cf. vivō, live], life; lifestyle.

**6. hōc:** abl. of respect; see App. §149.

**ab reliquīs:** “from other people.”

**7. nisi cum:** “except (unless) after.”

**7–8. ut . . . possint:** subjunctive in a clause of result; see App. §230.

**8. patiuntur:** the unexpressed subjects are the *Galli* in general and the *patrēs* in particular who are implied by the details of the next clause. Readers of Latin prose must always be alert for clues, as Caesar has a high opinion of our ability to supply necessary details.

**8–9. filium . . . assistere:** indirect statement dependent on *dūcunt*. These customs were likely meant to seem strange to Romans, as Roman youths had during the early Republic traditionally accompanied their fathers as their fathers went about their business.

**puerilī aetāte:** abl. of description; see App. §141.

- [6.19] *Virī, quantās pecūniās ab uxōribus dōtis nōmine accēpērunt, tantās ex suis bonīs aestimātiōne factā cum dōtibus commūnicant. Huius omnis pecūniae coniūctim ratiō habētur frūctūsque servantur: uter eōrum vitā superārit, ad eum pars*  
 5 *utriusque cum frūctibus superiōrum temporum pervenit.*

**aestimāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [aestimō, value], valuation, appraisal.

**bon•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, good, well-disposed; *as noun*, **bon•a, -ōrum**, *n. pl.*, goods, property, estate.

**commūnicō**, 1 [commūnis, common], make common, communicate, impart, share.

**coniūctim**, *adv.* [coniungō, join], jointly.

**dōs, dōtis**, *f.* [dō, give], a marriage present, dowry.

**frūct•us, -ūs**, *m.* [fruor, enjoy], fruit; profit, reward.

**nōm•en, -inis**, *n.*, name, title; reputation, prestige; **nōmine** *with gen.*, in the name of, as; **suō nōmine**, on his or their own account, personally.

**pecūni•a, -ae**, *f.*, property, wealth; money.

**rati•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [reor, reckon], reckoning, account, estimate; design, plan, strategy, science; method, arrangement; cause, reason; regard, consideration; condition, state of affairs; manner, way; condition, terms; *in pl.*, transactions.

**servō**, 1, save, preserve; maintain; guard; reserve.

**superō**, 1 [super, over], be superior to, prevail; be left over; **vitā superāre**, survive.

**ux•or, -ōris**, *f.*, wife.

**vīt•a, -ae**, *f.* [cf. vivō, live], life; lifestyle.

**1. dōtis nōmine**: “under a bond (or promissory note) of dowry.”

**2. aestimātiōne factā**: “after an appraisal has been made”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.

**3. commūnicant**: “they mingle,” i.e., husbands and wives pool equal shares of their resources when they form a household. Gauls, like Romans, viewed marriage in practical terms. Love often grew between husband and wife (we have many grave inscriptions testifying to marital affection), but love was generally not a primary motivating factor. Ancient peoples were more practical about such matters than we generally are today. Gallic custom on marital property would also have been of comparative interest to Caesar’s Roman readers, as the most common form of

Roman marriage in Caesar’s day stipulated that the property belonging to husbands and wives should be kept separate. For this reason, husbands and wives were not even supposed to give each other gifts, as such voluntary transfers would have “mingled” the very property that was supposed to be kept in separate accounts!

**ratiō**: economic relations between husband and wife are strictly regulated, as the wider circles of their families have, of course, an economic interest at stake. What happens, for example, to the woman whose dowry has been squandered by her husband? Strict account must be kept of what wealth each family has contributed.

**4. superārit** = *superāverit*; see App. §72.

- Virī in uxōrēs, sicutī in liberōs, vitae necisque habent potestātem; et cum pater familiae illūstriore locō nātus dēcessit, eius propinquī conveniunt et, dē morte sī rēs in suspiciōnem vēnit, dē uxōribus in servilem modum*  
 10 *quaestiōnem habent et, sī compertum est, ignī atque omnibus tormentis excruciātās interficiunt.*

**com•periō, -perire, -perī, -pertum**

[**pariō**, procure], find out with certainty, discover, ascertain.

**dē•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go from or away, depart, withdraw, leave, forsake; die.

**excruciō**, 1 [**cruciō**, torture; **crux**, cross (used for crucifixion)], torture severely, torment.

**famili•a, -ae, f.**, household (including slaves); retinue (including all dependents); family.

**ign•is, -is, m.**, fire.

**illūstr•is, -e, adj.**, distinguished, illustrious.

**liber•ī, -ōrum, m.** [**liber**, free], the non-slave members of a family or household; children.

**mod•us, -ī, m.**, measure, quantity, size; manner, method.

**nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum**, be born, be produced; rise, spring up, be raised; be found.

**nex, necis, f.**, violent death, death, execution.

**pater, -ris, m.**, father; **pater familiae**, father or head of a household.

**potes•tās, -tātis, f.** [**potēns**, powerful], power, ability, authority; control, sway, rule; chance, opportunity, possibility; **potestātem facere**, grant permission, give a chance.

**propinqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**prope**, near], near, neighboring, close at hand; *pl. as noun*, relatives.

**quaesti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**quaerō**, inquire], inquiry; examination, investigation.

**servil•is, -e, adj.** [**servus**, slave], of or like a slave, slavish, servile.

**sicut or sicutī, adv.** [**sic**, so + **ut(i)**, as], so as, just as, just as if.

**suspici•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**suspicio**, suspect], suspicion, distrust; surmise.

**torment•um, -ī, n.** [**torqueō**, twist], means of twisting; an engine or machine for hurling missiles; device for torturing, hence, torture.

**ux•or, -ōris, f.**, wife.

**veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance.

**vīt•a, -ae, f.** [*cf.* **vīvō**, live], life; lifestyle.

**6–7. vitae necisque . . . potestātem:** a Roman father traditionally (again, more so in earlier Roman history) held the power of life and death over his children too. Roman husbands in Caesar's day (unless they were married by an archaic ceremony, which was no longer popular) did not have similar authority over their wives. The Gauls thus offer Caesar's readers a glimpse into what life might have been like among their more primitive ancestors.

**7. illūstriore locō:** abl. of source; see App. §135.

**8. dē morte:** the phrase has been put in front of the if-clause for emphasis.

**9. in servilem modum:** "through torture."

In Rome, the testimony of slaves was admissible in court, only if it had been extracted through torture, hence "through the method applied to slaves."

**10. sī compertum est:** "if it has been proved," i.e., the suspicion has been ascertained to be true.

**11. excruciātās:** "after the women have been tortured." Note the gender of the part., which is being used in place of a subordinate clause (see App. §283).

- 15 *Fūnera sunt prō cultū Gallōrum magnifica et sūmptuōsa; omniaque quae vivīs cordī fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animālia, ac paulō suprā hanc memoriam servī et clientēs, quōs ab eīs dilēctōs esse cōnstābat, iūstīs fūneribus cōfectīs ūnā cremābantur.*

**anim•al, -ālis, n.** [**anima**, breath], animal, living (*and* breathing) creature.

**cliēs, clientis, m., f.** [**clēmēns**, gentle], gentleness, kindness, mercy, clemency.

**cōn•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], make *or* do thoroughly, complete, accomplish, finish.

**cōn•stō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātum** [**stō**, stand], stand firm; depend on; be complete; cost; *impers.*: it is evident *or* known.

**cor, cordis, n.**, heart.

**cremō, 1**, burn.

**cult•us, -ūs, m.** [**colō**, cultivate], civilization; lifestyle; dress; religious worship.

**dī•ligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [**legō**, choose], choose *or* single out, esteem highly, love.

**fūn•us, -eris, n.**, funeral.

**ign•is, -is, m.**, fire.

**inferō, inferre, intulī, illātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry into, import,

inflict, cause, produce; cast into; **in equum inferre**, mount on a horse; **causā illātā**, making an excuse; **signa inferre**, advance the standards, attack.

**iūst•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**iūs**, right], in accordance with law *or* right; lawful, valid, just, fair; proper, regular; *with fūnera*, appropriate, fitting, proper.

**magnific•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**magnus**, large + **faciō**, make], magnificent, splendid.

**memori•a, -ae, f.** [**memor**, mindful], memory; tradition.

**paulō, adv.** [**paulus**, little], a little, somewhat, slightly.

**paul•us, -a, -um, adj.**, little; **paulum, as noun**: a little; **post paulum**, soon after.

**serv•us, -ī, m.**, slave, servant.

**sūmptuōs•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**sūmptus**, expense], expensive.

**suprā, prep. with acc.**, above; before.

**viv•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**vivō**, live], alive, living.

**12. prō cultū**: “in proportion to their (level of) civilization.” Upper-class Gauls were poor compared to upper-class Romans, so their “expensive” funerals would not have been so “lavish” by Roman standards.

**13. quae vivīs cordī fuisse**: “which they thought had been (dear) to their heart for (them while) living,” i.e., “which they believed the deceased had loved in life.”

**vivīs**: dat. of reference; see App. §120.

**cordī**: dat. of purpose; see App. §119.

**14. paulō . . . memoriam**: i.e., not too long before living memory. Again, we find charges

of human sacrifice. We may note that Rome’s gladiatorial games, which included men fighting to the death, had origins in funeral games staged on behalf of the deceased.

**14–16. animālia . . . servī et clientēs . . . ūnā cremābantur**: “animals . . . slaves and clients . . . were all burned at the same time (together with the deceased).”

**15. quōs . . . esse**: indirect statement dependent on **cōnstābat**.

**iūstīs fūneribus cōfectis**: “after the appropriate funeral ceremonies had been conducted”; abl. absolute; see App. §150.



- [6.20] *Quae civitatēs commodius suam rem publicam administrāre existimantur, habent lēgibus sānctum, sī quis quid dē rē publicā ā finitimīs rūmōre aut fāmā accēperit, utī ad magistrātum dēferat nēve cum quō aliō communicet, quod*  
 5 *saepe hominēs temerāriōs atque imperitōs falsīs rūmōribus terrēri et ad facinus impellī et dē summīs rēbus cōnsilium capere cognitum est.*

**administrō**, 1 [minister, servant], serve, attend, wait upon; manage, guide.  
**commodē**, *adv.* [commodus, convenient], conveniently; readily, easily, fitly.  
**communicō**, 1 [communis, common], make common, communicate, impart, share.  
**dē-ferō**, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum [ferō, carry. App. §81], carry, take; report; bring before; bestow.  
**facin•us**, -oris, *n.* [faciō, do], deed; misdeed, outrage, crime.  
**fals•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [*perf. part. of fallō*, deceive], false.  
**fām•a**, -ae, *f.* [fāri, to speak], common talk, rumor, report, reputation, fame.  
**finitim•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [finis, limit], bordering on, neighboring.  
**im•pellō**, -pellere, -puli, -pulsum [pellō, drive], drive or urge on, incite, instigate, impel.

**imperit•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [in + peritus, experienced], inexperienced, unskilled, ignorant.  
**lēx**, lēgis, *f.*, law, statute.  
**magistrāt•us**, -ūs, *m.* [magister, master], public office, magistracy; public official, magistrate.  
**nēve** (neu) (App. §188, b.) [nē + ve, or], and not, nor.  
**rūm•or**, -ōris, *m.*, hearsay, report, rumor.  
**saepe**, *adv.*, often, frequently.  
**sanciō**, sancire, sānxī, sānctus, make sacred; make binding, ratify, sanction;  
**sānct•us**, -a, -um, *perf. part. as adj.*, sacred, inviolable; established.  
**temerāri•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [temerē, rashly], rash, imprudent, reckless.  
**terreō**, 2, frighten, terrify.

1. **Quae civitatēs** = *et eae civitatēs quae*. Caesar has put the antecedent inside the rel. clause, thus ellipting the subject of **habent**.

2. **habent lēgibus sānctum**: “have made (it) binding by laws”; for the use of the verb *habēre* with a past part., see App. §286, b.

2–4. **sī... accēperit, uti... communicet**: a condition in indirect statement that depends on the implied statement of the laws. The if-clause (protasis), however, is followed not by a conclusion (apodosis) represented by an acc. and inf., but instead by a volitive subjunctive in a substantive clause of purpose (or indirect command). Together, these clauses represent what in direct statement would have been an if-clause followed by a command: “if you learn... , report,” etc. We may compare the pre-recorded antiterrorism

messages one hears on New York City’s subways: “If you see something, say something!”

2–3. **sī quis quid**: “if anyone anything,” etc.; see App. §174.

3. **dē rē publicā**: “concerning public affairs” or “the state.” The Gauls did not have a republic.

**rūmōre aut fāmā**: abl. of means; see App. §143.

4. **cum quō aliō**: “with anyone else”; see App. §174.

5–6. **hominēs... terrēri et... impelli et... capere**: indirect statement dependent on **cognitum est**.

**dē summīs rēbus cōnsilium capere**: “make decisions about matters of life and death.”

Magistrātūs *quae vīsa sunt* occultant *quaeque esse ex ūsū*  
iudicāvērunt *multitūdīnī* prōdunt. *Dē rē pūblicā nisi per*  
10 concilium loquī nōn concēditur.

**con•cēdō, -cādere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], depart; grant; permit.

**concil•ium, -ī, n.,** assembly, gathering, council.

**iudicō, 1** [iūdex, judge], pass judgement on, judge, sentence, decide, determine, think, consider.

**loquor, loquī, locūtus sum,** speak, talk, converse.

**magistrāt•us, -ūs, m.** [magister, master], public office, magistracy; public official, magistrate.

**nisi, conj.** [ne- + sī, if], if not, except, unless.

**occultō, 1** [occultus, secret], hide, keep secret, conceal.

**prōd•ō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [dō, give], give forth, reveal; betray; hand down.

**8. quae:** you may supply *ea* as an antecedent for each *quae*.

**quae vīsa sunt:** “(those things) which (to them) seemed best (to be kept secret).” Caesar has ellipted both the antecedent of *quae* and a form of *occultō* from the subordinate clause, as the alert reader can deduce *occultārī* from the verb *occultant* in the main clause.

**quaeque:** i.e., *et ea quae*.

**9. prōdunt:** public officials share only limited information with the common people. Caesar’s readers at home would presumably have compared their public official Caesar, who, while consul, had published the proceedings of the Senate, and who, while general, sends exciting reports. Caesar, unlike the leaders of the Gauls, informs his people.

**10. concilium:** Gauls, like Romans for that matter, were not free to assemble on their

own to discuss matters of public concern. These assemblies would have been organized by recognized leaders. Speech in such assemblies can be regulated and directed. The right of citizens to assemble to discuss matters of public concern is, along with freedom of speech, one of the most basic requirements for a democratic and free society, and for precisely this reason, such rights are generally restricted in less free societies. Caesar implies that Gauls lacked freedom of speech outside organized assemblies. At the time Caesar wrote, Romans may not have had the right to assemble on their own in a politically organized way, but they did enjoy considerable freedom of speech as individuals. That right would, with the end of the Roman Republic, soon be severely restricted as well.

### *From Strange to Stranger*

After Caesar finishes his discussion of the customs and religion of the Gauls, he turns to the Germans. Caesar describes the Germans as even more primitive and alien than the Gauls. You will find the details in the translation of Book Six at the end of this volume. The insight into these ancient peoples, even if from a Roman point of view, is fascinating. The world was a very different place in the 50s BCE!

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## COMPLETE LATIN READINGS

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### *Book One*

#### *Caesar DE BELLŌ GALLICŌ 1.1–1.6*

[1.1] Gallia est omnis dīvisa in partēs trēs, quārum ūnam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquītānī, tertiam quī ipsōrum linguā Celtae, nostrā Gallī appellantur. Hī omnēs linguā, institūtis, lēgibus inter sē differunt. Gallōs ab Aquītānīs Garumna flūmen, ā Belgīs Matrona et Sēquana dividit. Hōrum omnium fortissimī sunt Belgae, proptereā quod ā cultū atque hūmānitātē prōvinciae longissimē absunt, minimēque ad eōs mercātōrēs saepe commeant atque ea quae ad effēmīnandōs animōs pertinent important, proximīque sunt Germānīs, quī trāns Rhēnum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. Quā dē causā Helvētiī quoque reliquōs Gallōs virtūte praecēdunt, quod ferē cotidiānīs proeliīs cum Germānīs contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eōs prohibent aut ipsī in eōrum finibus bellum gerunt. Eōrum ūna pars, quam Gallōs obtinēre dictum est, initium capit ā flūmine Rhodanō, continētur Garumnā flūmine, Ōceanō, finibus Belgārum, attingit etiam ab Sēquanīs et Helvētiīs flūmen Rhēnum, vergit ad septentrionēs. Belgae ab extrēmīs Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiōrem partem flūminis Rhēnī, spectant in septentrionem et orientem sōlem. Aquītānia ā Garumnā flūmine ad Pŷrēnaeōs montēs et eam partem Ōceanī quae est ad Hispāniam pertinet; spectat inter occāsum sōlis et septentrionēs.

[1.2] Apud Helvētiōs longē nōbilissimus fuit et dītissimus Orgetorīx. Is Marcō Messālā, et Marcō Pūpiō Pisōne cōsulibus rēgnī cupiditātē inductus coniūratiōnem nōbilitātis fēcit et civitātī persuāsit ut dē finibus suis cum omnibus cōpiīs exīrent: perfacile esse, cum virtūte omnibus praestarent, tōtius Galliae imperiō potiri. Id hōc facilius eis persuāsit, quod

undique loci nātūrā Helvētiī continentur: ūnā ex parte flūmine Rhēnō lātissimō atque altissimō, quī agrum Helvētium ā Germānis dividit; alterā ex parte monte Iūrā altissimō, quī est inter Sēquanōs et Helvētiōs; tertiā lacū Lemannō et flūmine Rhodanō, quī prōvinciam nostram ab Helvētiīs dividit. His rēbus fiēbat ut et minus lātē vagārentur et minus facile finitimīs bellum inferre possent; quā ex parte hominēs bellandī cupidī magnō dolōre adficiēbantur. Prō multitudīne autem hominum et prō glōriā bellī atque fortitudinis angustōs sē finēs habēre arbitrabantur, quī in longitūdinem mīlia passuum CCXL, in lātitudinem CLXXX patēbant.

[1.3] His rēbus adductī et auctōritāte Orgetorigis permōtī cōstituērunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinērent comparāre, iūmentōrum et carrōrum quam maximum numerum coemere, sēmentēs quam maximās facere, ut in itinere cōpia frūmentī suppeteret, cum proximīs civitātibus pācem et amicitiam cōfirmāre. Ad eas rēs cōficiendās biennium sibi satis esse dūxērunt; in tertium annum profectiōnem lēge cōfirmant. Ad eas rēs cōficiendās Orgetorix dēligitur. Is sibi lēgatiōnem ad civitatēs suscepit. In eō itinere persuādet Casticō, Catamantaloedis filiō, Sēquanō, cuius pater rēgnum in Sēquanīs multōs annōs obtinuerat et ā senātū populī Rōmānī amicus appellātus erat, ut rēgnum in civitatē suā occupāret, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigī Aeduō, frātri Diviciāci, quī eō tempore principātum in civitatē obtinēbat ac maximē plēbi acceptus erat, ut idem cōnārētur persuādet eīque filiam suam in mātrimonium dat. Perfacile factū esse illīs probat cōnāta perficere, proptereā quod ipse suae civitātis imperium obtentūrus esset: nōn esse dubium quīn tōtius Galliae plūrimum Helvētiī possent; sē suis cōpiīs suōque exercitū illīs rēgna conciliātūrum cōfirmat. Hāc ōratiōne adductī inter sē fidem et iūs iūrandum dant et rēgnō occupātō per trēs potentissimōs ac firmissimōs populōs tōtius Galliae sēsē potiri posse spērant.

[1.4] Ea rēs est Helvētiīs per indicium ēnūtiāta. Mōribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coēgērunt; damnātum poenam sequi oportēbat, ut igni cremārētur. Diē cōstitutā causae dictiōnis Orgetorix ad iūdicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum mīlia decem, undique coēgit, et omnēs clientēs obaerātōsque suōs, quōrum magnum numerum habēbat, eōdem condūxit; per eos nē causam diceret sē ēripuit. Cum civitās ob eam rem incitāta armīs iūs suum exsequi cōnārētur multitudīnemque hominum ex agrīs magistrātūs cōgerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspiciō, ut Helvētiī arbitrantur, quīn ipse sibi mortem cōnsciverit.

[1.5] Post eius mortem nihilō minus Helvētiī id quod cōstituerant facere cōnantur, ut ē finibus suis exeant. Ubi iam sē ad eam rem parātōs esse arbitrātī sunt, oppida sua omnia, numerō ad duodecim, vicōs ad quadringentōs, reliqua privāta aedificia incendunt; frūmentum omne, praeterquam quod sēcum portātūrī erant, combūrunt, ut domum reditiōnis spē sublātā parātiōrēs ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mēsum molita cibāria sibi quemque domō efferre iubent. Persuādent Rauracīs et Tulingīs et Latobrigīs finitimīs, utī eōdem ūsī cōsiliō oppidīs suis vicisque exustīs ūnā cum eis proficiscantur, Bōiōsque, quī trāns Rhēnum incoluerant et in agrum Nōricum trāsierant Nōreīamque oppugnārant, receptōs ad sē sociōs sibi adsciscunt.

[1.6] Erant omnīnō itinera duo, quibus itineribus domō exīre possent: ūnum per Sēquanōs, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iūram et flūmen Rhodanum, vix quā singuli carrī dūcerentur, mōns autem altissimus impendēbat, ut facile perpaucī prohibēre possent; alterum per prōvinciam nostram, multō facilius atque expeditius, proptereā quod inter finēs Helvētiōrum et Allobrogum, quī nūper pācātī erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nōnnūllīs locīs vadō trānsitur. Extrēmum oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvētiōrum finibus Genava. Ex eō oppidō pōns ad Helvētiōs pertinet. Allobrogibus sēsē vel persuāsūrōs, quod nōndum bonō animō in populum Rōmānum vidērentur, existimābant vel vī coactūrōs ut per suōs finēs eōs ire paterentur. Omnibus rēbus ad profectiōnem comparātis diem dīcunt, quā diē ad rīpam Rhodanī omnēs conveniant. Is diēs erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. Lūciō Pisōne, Aulō Gabiniō cōsulibus.

[1.7] Caesarī cum id nūntiātum esset, eōs per prōvinciam nostram iter facere cōnārī, mātūrat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximīs potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriōrem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit. Prōvinciae tōtī quam maximum potest mīlitum numerum imperat (erat omnīnō in Galliā ulteriōre legiō ūna), pontem, quī erat ad Genavam, iubet rescindī. Ubi dē eius adventū Helvētiī certiōrēs factī sunt, lēgātōs ad eum mittunt nōbilissimōs civitātis, cuius lēgatiōnis Nammēius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinēbant, quī dīcerent sibi esse in animō sine ūllō maleficiō iter per prōvinciam facere, proptereā quod aliud iter habērent nūllum: rogāre ut eius voluntāte id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoriā tenēbat Lūcium Cassium cōsulem occīsum exercitumque eius ab Helvētiīs pulsum et sub iugum missum, concēdendum nōn putābat; neque hominēs inimicō animō, datā facultāte per prōvinciam itineris faciendī, temperātūrōs ab iniuriā et

maleficiō exīstimābat. Tamen, ut spatium intercēdere posset dum milītēs quōs imperāverat convenīrent, lēgātīs respondit diem sē ad dēliberandum sūmptūrum: sī quid vellent, ad Īd. April. reverterentur.

*Book Four*  
*Caesar DE BELLŌ GALLICŌ 4.24–4.36.1*

[4.24] At barbarī, cōnsiliō Rōmānōrum cognitō praemissō equitatū et essedāriis, quō plērumque genere in proeliis ūtī cōsuērunt, reliquīs cōpiīs subsecūtī nostrōs nāvibus ēgredi prohibēbant. Erat ob hās causās summa difficultās, quod nāvēs propter magnitudinem nisi in altō cōstituī nōn poterant, militibus autem, ignōtis locīs, impeditīs manibus, magnō et gravī onere armōrum oppressis simul et dē nāvibus dēsiliendum et in flūctibus cōsistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum illi aut ex āridō aut paulum in aquam prōgressi omnibus membrīs expeditīs, nōtissimīs locīs, audācter tēla conicerent et equōs insuēfactōs incitārent. Quibus rēbus nostrī perterriti atque huius omnīnō generis pugnae imperitī, nōn eādem alacritāte ac studiō quō in pedestribus ūtī proeliis cōsuērunt ūtēbantur.

[4.25] Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, nāvēs longās, quārum et speciēs erat barbaris inūsitiō et mōtus ad ūsum expeditior, paulum removērī ab onerāriīs nāvibus et rēmīs incitārī et ad latus apertum hostium cōstituī atque inde fundīs, sagittīs, tormentīs hostēs prōpelli ac submovērī iussit; quae rēs magnō ūsui nostrīs fuit. Nam et nāvium figūrā et rēmōrum mōtū et inūsitiō genere tormentōrum permōtī barbarī cōstitērunt ac paulum modo pedem rettulērunt. Atque nostrīs militibus cūctantibus, maximē propter altitudinem maris, quī decimae legiōnis aquilam ferēbat, obtestātus deōs, ut ea rēs legiōnī feliciter ēveniret, “Dēsilite,” inquit, “commilitōnēs, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prōdere; egō certē meum rei pūblīcae atque imperātōrī officium praestiterō.” Hoc cum vōce magnā dixisset, sē ex nāvī prōiēcit atque in hostēs aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostrī cohortātī inter sē, nē tantum dēdecus admitterētur, ūniversī ex nāvī dēsiluērunt. Hōs item ex proximīs primī nāvibus cum cōspexissent, subsecūtī hostibus appropinquārunt.

[4.26] Pugnātum est ab utrīsque ācritē. Nostrī tamen, quod neque ordinēs servāre neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequī poterant atque alius aliā ex nāvī quibuscumque signis occurrerat sē adgregābat, magnopere perturbābantur; hostēs vērō, nōtis omnibus vadīs, ubi ex litore aliquōs singulārēs ex nāvī ēgredientēs cōspexerant, incitātis equīs impeditōs adoriēbantur, plūrēs paucōs circumsistēbant, aliī ab latere apertō in



ūniversōs tēla coniciēbant. Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphās longārum nāvium, item speculātōria nāvigia militibus complērī iussit, et quōs labōrantēs cōspexerat, hīs subsidia submittēbat. Nostrī, simul in āridō cōstitērunt, suīs omnibus cōsecūtīs, in hostēs impetum fēcērunt atque eōs in fugam dedērunt; neque longius prōsequī potuērunt, quod equitēs cursum tenēre atque īnsulam capere nōn potuerant. Hoc ūnum ad pristinam fortūnam Caesarī dēfuit.

[4.27] Hostēs proeliō superātī, simul atque sē ex fugā recēpērunt, statim ad Caesarem lēgātōs dē pāce misērunt; obsidēs datūrōs quaeque imperāset factūrōs sēsē pollicitī sunt. Ūnā cum hīs lēgātīs Commius Atrebās vēnit, quem suprā dēmōstrāveram ā Caesare in Britanniam praemisum. Hunc illī ē nāvī ēgressum, cum ad eōs ōrātōris modō Caesaris mandāta dēferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula coniēcērant; tum proeliō factō remisērunt et in petendā pāce eius reī culpam in multitudinem contulērunt et propter imprudentiam ut ignōscerētur petivērunt. Caesar questus quod, cum ultrō in continentem lēgātīs missīs pācem ab sē petissent, bellum sine causā intulissent, ignōscere imprudentiae dīxit obsidēsque imperāvit; quōrum illī partem statim dedērunt, partem ex longinquioribus locīs arcessitam paucīs diēbus sēsē datūrōs dīxērunt. Intereā suōs remigrāre in agrōs iussērunt, principēsque undique convenīre et sē civitatēsque suās Caesarī commendāre coepērunt.

[4.28] Hīs rēbus pāce cōfirmātā, post diem quārtum quam est in Britanniam ventum nāvēs XVIII, dē quibus suprā dēmōstrātum est, quae equitēs sustulerant, ex superiōre portū lēnī ventō solvērunt. Quae cum appropinquārent Britanniae et ex castrīs vidērentur, tanta tempestās subitō coorta est ut nūlla eārum cursum tenēre posset, sed aliae eōdem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiōrem partem īnsulae, quae est propius sōlis occāsum, magnō suō cum periculō dēicerentur; quae tamen ancorīs iactīs cum flūctibus complērentur, necessariō adversā nocte in altum prōvectae continentem petiērunt.

[4.29] Eādem nocte accidit ut esset lūna plēna, quī diēs maritimōs aestūs maximōs in Ōceanō efficere cōsuēvit, nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita ūnō tempore et longās nāvēs, quibus exercitum trānsportandum cūrāverat, quāsque Caesar in āridum subdūxerat, aestus complēverat, et onerāriās, quae ad ancorās erant dēligatae, tempestās adflīctābat, neque ūlla nostrīs facultās aut administrandī aut auxiliandī dabātur. Complūribus nāvibus

frāctīs, reliquae cum essent fūnibus, ancorīs reliquisque armāmentīs āmissīs ad nāvīgandum inūtilēs, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, tōtius exercitūs perturbātiō facta est. Neque enim nāvēs erant aliae quibus reportārī possent, et omnia deerant quae ad reficiendās nāvēs erant ūsuī, et, quod omnibus cōnstābat hiemārī in Galliā oportēre, frūmentum in hīs locīs in hiemem prōvisum nōn erat.

[4.30] Quibus rēbus cognitīs, prīncipēs Britanniae, quī post proelium ad Caesarem convēnerant, inter sē collocūtī, cum equitēs et nāvēs et frūmentum Rōmānīs deesse intellegerent et paucitātem militum ex castrōrum exiguitāte cognōscerent, quae hōc erant etiam angustiora quod sine impedimentīs Caesar legiōnēs trānsportāverat, optimum factū esse dūxerunt rebellione factā frūmentō commeātūque nostrōs prohibēre et rem in hiemem prōducere, quod hīs superātīs aut reditū interclūsīs nēminem postea belli inferendī causā in Britanniam trānsitūrum cōfidēbant. Itaque rūsus coniūrātiōne factā paulatim ex castrīs discēdere et suōs clam ex agrīs dēducere coepērunt.

[4.31] At Caesar, etsī nōndum eōrum cōnsilia cognōverat, tamen et ex ēventū nāvium suārum et ex eō quod obsidēs dare intermiserant fore id quod accidit suspicābātur. Itaque ad omnēs cāsūs subsidia comparābat. Nam et frūmentum ex agrīs cotidiē in castra cōferēbat et, quae gravissimē adflīctae erant nāvēs, eārum māteriā atque aere ad reliquās reficiendās ūtēbātur et quae ad eas rēs erant ūsuī ex continentī comparārī iubēbat. Itaque, cum summō studiō ā militibus administrārētur, XII nāvibus āmissīs, reliquīs ut nāvīgārī commodē posset effēcit.

[4.32] Dum ea geruntur, legiōne ex cōnsuētūdine ūnā frūmentātum missā, quae appellābātur septima, neque ūllā ad id tempus bellī suspiciōne interpositā, cum pars hominum in agrīs remanēret, pars etiam in castra ventitāret, eī quī prō portis castrōrum in statīōne erant Caesarī nūntiāverunt pulverem maiōrem quam cōnsuētūdō ferret in eā parte vidērī quam in partem legiō iter fēcisset. Caesar id quod erat suspicātus aliquid novī ā barbarīs initum cōnsili, cohortēs quae in statīōnibus erant sēcum in eam partem proficiscī, ex reliquīs duās in statīōnem cohortēs succēdere, reliquās armārī et cōfestim sēsē subsequī iussit. Cum paulō longius ā castrīs prōcessisset, suōs ab hostibus premī atque aegrē sustinēre et cōnfertā legiōne ex omnibus partibus tēla conicī animadvertit. Nam quod omnī ex reliquīs partibus dēmessō frūmentō pars ūna erat reliqua, suspicātī hostēs hūc nostrōs

esse ventūrōs noctū in silvīs dēlituerant; tum dispersōs dēpositīs armīs in metendō occupātōs subitō adortī paucīs interfectīs reliquōs incertīs ordinibus perturbāverant, simul equitātū atque essedīs circumdederant.

[4.33] Genus hoc est ex essedīs pugnae. Primō per omnēs partēs perequitant et tēla coniciunt atque ipsō terrōre equōrum et strepitū rotārū ordinēs plērumque perturbant et, cum sē inter equitum turmās insinuāvērunt, ex essedīs dēsiliunt et pedibus proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proeliō excēdunt atque ita currūs collocant ut, si illī ā multitūdine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suōs receptum habeant. Ita mobilitātem equitum, stabilitātem peditum in proeliīs praestant, ac tantum ūsū cotidiānō et exercitātiōne efficiunt utī in dēclīvī ac praecipiti locō incitātōs equōs sustinēre et brevī moderārī ac flectere et per tēmōnem percurrere et in iugō insistere et sē inde in currūs citissimē recipere cōsuērunt.

[4.34] Quibus rēbus perturbātīs nostrīs, novitāte pugnae, tempore opportunissimō Caesar auxilium tulit: namque eius adventū hostēs cōstitērunt, nostrī sē ex timōre recēpērunt. Quō factō, ad lacessendum hostem et ad committendum proelium aliēnum esse tempus arbitrātus suō sē locō continuit et brevī tempore intermissō in castra legiōnēs redūxit. Dum haec geruntur, nostrīs omnibus occupātīs quī erant in agris reliquī discessērunt. Secūtae sunt continuōs complūrēs diēs tempestātēs, quae et nostrōs in castrīs continērent et hostem ā pugnā prohibērent. Interim barbarī nūntiōs in omnēs partēs dīmīsērunt paucitātemque nostrōrum militum suīs praedicāvērunt et quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum suī liberandī facultās darētur, si Rōmānōs castrīs expulissent, dēmōstrāvērunt. Hīs rēbus celeriter magnā multitūdine peditātūs equitātūsque coāctā ad castra vērunt.

[4.35] Caesar, etsī idem quod superiōribus diēbus acciderat fore vidēbat, ut, si essent hostēs pulsī, celeritāte periculum effugerent, tamen nactus equitēs circiter XXX, quōs Commius Atrebās, dē quō ante dictum est, sēcum trānsportāverat, legiōnēs in aciē prō castrīs cōstituit. Commissō proeliō diūtius nostrōrum militum impetum hostēs ferre nōn potuērunt ac terga vertērunt. Quōs tantō spatiō secūtī quantum cursū et vīribus efficere potuērunt, complūrēs ex eīs occidērunt, deinde omnibus longē lātēque aedificiīs incēnsīs sē in castra recēpērunt.

[4.36.1] Eōdem diē lēgātī ab hostibus missī ad Caesarem dē pāce vērunt.

*Book Five*  
*Caesar DE BELLŌ GALLICŌ 5.24–5.48*

[5.24] Subductis nāvibus conciliōque Gallōrum Samarobrīvae peractō, quod eō annō frūmentum in Galliā propter siccitatēs angustius prōvenerat, coactus est aliter ac superiōribus annis exercitum in hibernis collocāre legiōnesque in plūrēs civitatēs distribuere. Ex quibus ūnam in Morinōs dūcendam Gaiō Fabiō lēgātō dedit, alteram in Nervios Quīntō Cicerōnī, tertiam in Esubiōs Lūciō Rosciō; quārtam in Rēmīs cum Titō Labiēnō in cōfiniō Trēverōrum hiemāre iussit. Trēs in Bellovacīs collocāvit: his Marcum Crassum quaestōrem et Lūcium Munātium Plancum et Gaium Trebōnium lēgātōs praefecit. Ūnam legiōnem, quam proximē trāns Padum cōscripserat, et cohortēs V in Eburōnēs, quōrum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhēnum, quī sub imperiō Ambiorīgis et Catuvolcī erant, mīsīt. His militibus Quīntum Titūrium Sabīnum et Lucium Aurunculēium Cottam lēgātōs praeesse iussit. Ad hunc modum distribūtis legiōnibus facillimē inopiae frūmentāriae sēsē medēri posse existimāvit. Atque hārum tamen omnium legiōnum hiberna praeter eam, quam Lūciō Rōsciō in pācātissimam et quiētissimam partem dūcendam dederat, milibus passuum centum continēbantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiōnēs collocātās mūnītaque hiberna cognōvisset, in Galliā morārī cōstituit.

[5.25] Erat in Carnutibus summō locō nātus Tasgetius, cuius maiōrēs in suā civitatē rēgnum obtinuerant. Huic Caesar prō eius virtūte atque in sē benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulārī eius operā fuerat ūsus, maiōrum locum restituerat. Tertium iam hunc annum rēgnantem inimīcī multis palam ex civitatē auctōribus interfecērunt. Dēfertur ea rēs ad Caesarem. Ille veritus, quod ad plūrēs pertinēbat, nē civitās eōrum impulsū dēficeret, Lūcium Plancum cum legiōne ex Belgiō celeriter in Carnutēs proficisci iubet ibique hiemāre quōrumque operā cognōverat Tasgetium interfectum, hōs comprehēnsōs ad sē mittere. Interim ab omnibus lēgātīs quaestōribusque, quibus legiōnēs trādiderat, certior factus est in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse mūnītum.

[5.26] Diēbus circiter XV, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentinū tumultūs ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Catuvolcō; quī, cum ad finēs regnī suī Sabīnō Cottaeque praestō fuissent frumentumque in hiberna comportāvissent, Indutiomārī Trēverī nūntiīs impulsī suōs concitāverunt subitoque oppressis lignatōribus magnā manū ad castra oppugnātum vēnerunt. Cum celeriter nostrī arma cēpissent vāllumque ascendissent atque unā ex parte Hispānīs equitibus emissis equestri proeliō superiōrēs fuissent, dēspērātā rē hostēs suōs ab oppugnātiōne redūxerunt. Tum suō mōre conclāmāverunt, utī aliquī ex nostrīs ad colloquium prōdīret: habēre sēsē, quae dē rē commūnī dicere vellent, quibus rēbus contrōversiās minui posse spērarent.

[5.27] Mittitur ad eōs colloquendī causā Gāius Arpīnēius, eques Rōmānus, familiāris Quīntī Titūrī, et Quīntus Iūnius ex Hispāniā quīdam, quī iam ante missū Caesaris ad Ambiorigem ventitāre cōsuērat; apud quōs Ambiorix ad hunc modum locūtus est: sēsē prō Caesaris in sē beneficiis plūrimū eī cōfiterī debēre, quod eius operā stipendiō liberātus esset, quod Aduātucīs, finitimīs suīs, pendere cōsuēssset, quodque eī et filius et frātris filius ab Caesare remissi essent, quōs Aduātucī obsidum numerō missōs apud sē in servitūte et catēnīs tenuissent; neque id, quod fecerit dē oppugnātiōne castrōrum, aut iūdicīō aut voluntāte suā fēcisse, sed coactū civitātis, suaeque esse eiusmodi imperia, ut nōn minus habēret iūris in sē multitudō quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitātī porrō hanc fuisse bellī causam, quod repentināe Gallōrum coniūrātiōnī resistere nōn potuerit. Id sē facile ex humilitate suā probāre posse, quod nōn adeō sit imperitus rerū ut suīs cōpiīs populum Rōmānum superārī posse cōfīdat. Sed esse Galliae commūne cōsiliū: omnibus hibernīs Caesaris oppugnandīs hunc esse dictum diem, nē qua legiō alterae legiōnī subsidiō venīre posset. Nōn facile Gallōs Gallīs negāre potuisse, praesertim cum dē recuperandā commūnī libertate cōsiliū initum vidērētur. Quibus quoniam prō pietate satisfecerit, habēre nunc sē ratiōnem officiī prō beneficiis Caesaris: monēre, orāre Titūrium prō hospitīō, ut suae ac militum salutī cōnsulat. Magnam manū Germānōrum conductam Rhēnum trānsisse; hanc adfore bīduō. Ipsōrum esse cōsiliū, velintne priusquam finitimī sentiant ēductōs ex hibernīs milites aut ad Cicerōnem aut ad Labiēnum dēducere, quōrum alter milia passuum circiter quīnquāgintā, alter paulō amplius ab eis absit. Illud sē pollicērī et iūre iūrandō cōfirmāre tūtum iter per finēs datūrum. Quod cum faciat, et civitātī sēsē cōnsulere, quod hibernīs levētur, et Caesari prō eius meritis grātiā referre. Hāc orātiōne habitā discēdit Ambiorix.

[5.28] Arpinēius et Iūnius, quae audierunt, ad lēgātōs dēferunt. Illi repentinā rē perturbātī, etsī ab hoste ea dicēbantur, tamen nōn neglegenda existimābant maximēque hāc rē permovēbantur, quod cīvitatē ignōbilem atque humilem Eburōnum suā sponte populō Rōmānō bellum facere ausam vix erat crēdendum. Itaque ad cōsiliū rem dēferunt magnaue inter eōs existit contrōversia. Lūcius Aurunculēius complūrēsque tribūnī militum et primōrum ōrdinum centuriōnēs nihil temerē agendum neque ex hibernīs iniussū Caesaris discēdendum existimābant: quantāsvīs magnās cōpiās etiam Germānōrum sustinērī posse mūnitīs hibernīs docēbant: rem esse testimoniō, quod primum hostium impetum multis ultrō vulneribus illātīs fortissimē sustinuerint: rē frūmentariā nōn premī; intereā et ex proximīs hibernīs et ā Caesare conventūra subsidia: postrēmō quid esse levius aut turpius, quam auctōre hoste dē summīs rēbus capere cōsiliū?

[5.29] Contrā ea Titūrius sērō factūrōs clāmitābat, cum maiōrēs manūs hostium adiūctīs Germānīs convēnissent aut cum aliquid calamitātis in proximīs hibernīs esset acceptum. Brevem cōsulendī esse occāsiōnem. Caesarem arbitrārī profectum in Ītaliā; neque aliter Carnutēs interficiendī Tasgetī cōsiliū fuisse captūrōs, neque Eburōnēs, sī ille adesset, tantā contēptiōne nostrī ad castra ventūrōs esse. Nōn hostem auctōrem, sed rem spectāre: subesse Rhēnum; magnō esse Germānīs dolōrī Ariovistī mortem et superiōrēs nostrās victōriās; ārdere Galliā tot contumēliis acceptīs sub populī Rōmānī imperiū redāctam superiōre glōriā rei militāris extīnctā. Postrēmō quis hōc sibi persuādēret, sine certā rē Ambiorigem ad eiusmodī cōsiliū dēscendisse? Suam sententiā in utramque partem esse tūtā: sī nihil esset dūrius, nūllō cum periculō ad proximā legiōnem perventūrōs; sī Galliā omnis cum Germānīs cōsentīret, ūnam esse in celeritāte positā salutē. Cottae quidem atque eōrum, quī dissentīrent, cōsiliū quem habēre exitum? In quō sī nōn praesēns periculū, at certē longinquā obsidiōne famēs esset timenda?

[5.30] Hāc in utramque partem disputatiōne habitā, cum ā Cottā primisque ōrdinibus ācritē resisterētur, “Vincite,” inquit, “sī ita vultis,” Sabīnus, et id clāriōre vōce, ut magna pars militum exaudīret; “neque is sum,” inquit, “quī gravissimē ex vōbīs mortis periculō terrear: hī sapient; sī gravius quid acciderit, abs tē ratiōnem reposcent, quī, sī per tē liceat, perendinō diē cum proximīs hibernīs coniūctī commūnem cum reliquīs bellī cāsum sustineant, nōn rēiecti et relēgātī longē ab cēterīs aut ferrō aut fame intereant.”

[5.31] Cōnsurgitur ex cōnsiliō; comprehendunt utrumque et ōrant, nē suā dissēnsiōne et pertināciā rem in summum perīculum dēdūcant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficīcantur, sī modo ūnum omnēs sentiant ac probent; contrā in dissēnsiōne nūllam sē salūtem perspicere. Rēs disputātiōne ad mediam noctem perdūcitur. Tandem dat Cotta permōtus manūs: superat sententia Sabīnī. Prōnūntiātur primā lūce itūrōs. Cōnsūmitur vigiliīs reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque mīles circumspiceret, quid sēcum portāre posset, quid ex instrūmentō hibernōrum relinquere cōgerētur. Omnia excōgitantur, quārē nec sine periculō maneātur, et languōre mīlitum et vigiliīs periculum augeātur. Primā lūce sic ex castrīs proficīscuntur, ut quibus esset persuāsum nōn ab hoste, sed ab homine amīcissimō Ambiorīge cōnsilium datum, longissimō agmine maximisque impedīmentis.

[5.32] At hostēs, posteāquam ex nocturnō fremitū vigiliisque dē profectiōne eōrum sēnsērunt, collocātis insidiīs bipertitō in silvīs opportunō atque occultō locō ā milibus passuum circiter duōbus Rōmānōrum adventum exspectābant, et cum sē maior pars agminis in magnam convallem dēmīssisset, ex utrāque parte eius vāllis subitō sē ostendērunt novissimōsque premere et primōs prohibēre ascēnsū atque inīquissimō nostrīs locō proelium committere coepērunt.

[5.33] Tum dēmum Titūrius, quī nihil ante prōvidisset, trepidāre et concursāre cohortēsque dispōnere, haec tamen ipsa timidē atque ut eum omnia dēficere vidērentur; quod plērumque eīs accidere cōsuēvit, quī in ipsō negōtiō cōnsilium capere cōguntur. At Cotta, quī cōgitāisset haec posse in itinere accidere atque ob eam causam profectiōnis auctor nōn fuisset, nūllā in rē commūnī salūtī deerat et in appellandīs cohortandisque mīlitibus imperātōris et in pugnā mīlitis officia praestābat. Cum propter longitūdinem agminis minus facile omnia per sē obīre et, quid quōque locō faciendum esset, prōvidēre possent, iussērunt prōnūntiāre, ut impedīmenta relinquerent atque in orbem cōsisterent. Quod cōnsilium etsī in eiusmodi cāsū reprehendendum nōn est, tamen incommodē accidit: nam et nostrīs mīlitibus spem minuit et hostēs ad pugnam alacriōrēs effēcit, quod nōn sine summō timōre et dēspērātiōne id factum vidēbātur. Praetereā accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgō mīlitēs ab signīs discēderent, quae quisque eōrum cārissima habēret, ab impedīmentis petere atque arripere properāret, clāmōre et flētū omnia complērentur.

[5.34] At barbaris cōsiliū nōn dēfuit. Nam ducēs eōrum tōtā aciē prōnūntiāre iussērunt, nē quis ab locō discēderet: illōrum esse praedam atque illis reservārī quaecumque Rōmānī reliquissent: proinde omnia in victōriā posita existimārent. Erant et virtūte et studiō pugnandī parēs; nostrī, tametsī ab duce et ā fortūnā dēserēbantur, tamen omnem spem salūtis in virtūte pōnēbant, et quotiēns quaeque cohors prōcurrerat, ab eā parte magnus numerus hostium cadēbat. Quā rē animadversā Ambiorix prōnūntiārī iubet, ut procul tēla coniciant neu propius accēdant et, quam in partem Rōmānī impetum fēcerint, cēdant (levitāte armōrum et cotidiānā exercitātiōne nihil hīs nocērī posse), rūsus sē ad signa recipientēs insequantur.

[5.35] Quō praeceptō ab eīs diligentissimē observātō, cum quaequam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fēcerat, hostēs vėlōcissimē refugiēbant. Interim eam partem nūdārī necesse erat et ab latere apertō tēla recipī. Rūsus cum in eum locum unde erant ēgressī revertī coeperant, et ab eīs quī cesserant et ab eīs quī proximī steterant circumveniēbantur; sīn autem locum tenēre vellent, nec virtūti locus relinquēbātur, neque ab tantā multitudine coniecta tēla cōnfertī vitāre poterant. Tamen tot incommodis cōnflctātī, multis vulneribus acceptis resistēbant et magnā parte diēi cōsumptā, cum ā primā lūce ad hōram octāvam pugnārētur, nihil quod ipsis esset indignum committēbant. Tum Titō Balventiō, quī superiōre annō primum pīlū dūxerat, virō fortī et magnae auctōritātis, utrumque femur trāgulā trācitur; Quīntus Lūcānius, eiusdem ōrdinis, fortissimē pugnāns, dum circumventō filiō subvenit, interficitur; Lūcius Cotta lēgātus omnēs cohortēs ōrdinēsque adhortāns in adversum ōs fundā vulnerātur.

[5.36] Hīs rēbus permōtus Quīntus Titūrius, cum procul Ambiorigem suōs cohortantem cōspexisset, interpretem suum Gnaeum Pompēium ad eum mittit rogātum ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellātus respondit: sī velit sēcum colloquī, licēre; spērāre ā multitudine impetrārī posse, quod ad militum salūtem pertineat; ipsī vērō nihil nocitum irī, inque eam rem sē suam fidem interpōnere. Ille cum Cottā sauciō commūnicat, sī videātur, pugnā ut excēdant et cum Ambiorige ūnā colloquantur: spērāre ab eō dē suā ac militum salūte impetrārī posse. Cotta sē ad armātum hostem itūrum negat atque in eō perseverat.



[5.37] Sabīnus quōs in praesentiā tribūnōs militum circum sē habēbat et primōrum ordinum centuriōnēs sē sequī iubet et, cum propius Ambiorīgem accessisset, iussus arma abicere imperātum facit suisque ut idem faciant imperat. Interim, dum dē condiōnibus inter sē agunt longiorque cōsultō ab Ambiorīge īnstituitur sermō, paulātīm circum-ventus interficitur. Tum vērō suō mōre victōriam conclāmant atque ululātum tollunt impetūque in nostrōs factō ordinēs perturbant. Ibi Lūcius Cotta pugnāns interficitur cum maximā parte militum. Reliquī sē in castra recipiunt unde erant ēgressī. Ex quibus Lūcius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magnā multitudine hostium premerētur, aquilam intrā vāllum prōiecit; ipse prō castrīs fortissimē pugnāns occiditur. Illī aegrē ad noctem oppugnātiōnem sustinent; noctū ad ūnum omnēs dēspērātā salūte sē ipsi interficiunt. Paucī ex proeliō ēlapsi incertīs itineribus per silvās ad Titum Labiēnum lēgātum in hīberna perveniunt atque eum dē rēbus gestīs certiōrem faciunt.

[5.38] Hāc victōriā sublātus Ambiorīx statim cum equitātū in Aduātucōs, quī erant eius rēgnō fīnitimī, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit peditātumque subsequī iubet. Rē dēmōnstrātā Aduātucisque concitātis posterō diē in Nervios pervenit hortāturque, nē sui in perpetuum liberandī atque ulciscendī Rōmānōs prō eis quās accēperint iniūriis occāsiōnem dīmittant: interfectōs esse lēgātōs duōs magnamque partem exercitūs interisē dēmōnstrat; nihil esse negōtī subitō oppressam legiōnem quae cum Cicerōne hiemet interficī; sē ad eam rem profitētur adiūtōrem. Facile hāc ōrātiōne Nervii persuādet.

[5.39] Itaque cōnfestim dimissis nūntiis ad Ceutronēs, Grudiōs, Levācōs, Pleumoxiōs, Geidumnōs, quī omnēs sub eōrum imperiō sunt, quam maximās manūs possunt cōgunt et dē imprōvisō ad Cicerōnis hīberna advolant nōndum ad eum fāmā dē Titūrī morte perlātā. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nōnnūllī militēs, quī lignātiōnis mūnitiōnisque causā in silvās discessissent, repentinō equitum adventū interciperentur. His circumventis magnā manū Eburōnēs, Nervii, Aduātuci atque hōrum omnium socii et clientēs legiōnem oppugnāre incipiunt. Nostrī celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vāllum cōnscedunt. Aegrē is diēs sustentātur, quod omnem spem hostēs in celeritāte pōnēbant atque hanc adepti victōriam in perpetuum sē fore victōrēs cōfidēbant.

[5.40] Mittuntur ad Caesarem cōfestim ab Cicerōne litterae magnīs prōpositis praemiīs, sī pertulissent: obsessis omnibus viīs missī intercipiuntur. Noctū ex māteriā, quam mūnitiōnis causā comportāverant, turrēs admodum CXX excitantur incrēdibili celeritāte; quae deesse operī vidēbantur, perficiuntur. Hostēs posterō diē multō maiōribus coāctis cōpiīs castra oppugnant, fossam complent. Eādem ratiōne, quā prīdiē, ab nostris resistitur. Hoc idem reliquīs deinceps fit diēbus. Nūlla pars nocturnī temporis ad labōrem intermittitur; nōn aegrīs, nōn vulnerātis facultās quiētis datur. Quaecumque ad proximī diēi oppugnātiōnem opus sunt noctū comparantur; multae praeustae sudēs, magnus mūrālium pilōrum numerus instituitur; turrēs contabulantur, pinnae lōricaeque ex crātibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicerō, cum tenuissimā valētūdine esset, nē nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quiētem relinquebat, ut ultrō militum concursū ac vōcibus sibi parcere cōgerētur.

[5.41] Tunc ducēs principēsque Nerviōrum quī aliquem sermōnis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerōne habēbant colloquī sēsē velle dīcunt. Factā potestāte eadem quae Ambiorīx cum Tituriō ēgerat commemorant: omnem esse in armīs Galliam; Germānōs Rhēnum trānsisse; Caesaris reliquōrumque hiberna oppugnārī. Addunt etiam dē Sabīnī morte: Ambiorīgem ostendant fideī faciendae causā. Errāre eōs dīcunt, sī quicquam ab hīs praesidī spērent, quī suis rēbus diffīdant; sēsē tamen hōc esse in Cicerōnem populumque Rōmānum animō, ut nihil nisi hiberna recūsant atque hanc inveterāscere cōsuētūdinem nōlint: licēre illis incolumibus per sē ex hibernīs discēdere et quācumque in partēs velint sine metū proficīscī. Cicerō ad haec ūnum modo respondit: nōn esse cōsuētūdinem populi Rōmānī accipere ab hoste armātō condiōnem: sī ab armīs discēdere velint, sē adiūtore ūtantur lēgātōsque ad Caesarem mittant; spērāre prō eius iūstitiā, quae petierint, impetrātūrōs.

[5.42] Ab hāc spē repulsi Nervii vāllō pedum IX et fossā pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiōrum annōrum cōsuētūdine ab nōbīs cognōverant et, quōs clam dē exercitū habēbant captīvōs, ab eis docēbantur; sed nullā ferrāmentōrum cōpiā quae esset ad hunc ūsum idōnea, gladiīs caespitēs circumcidere, manibus sagulīsque terram exhaurīre vidēbantur. Quā quidem ex rē hominum multitūdō cognōscī potuit: nam minus hōris tribus milium pedum XV in circuitū mūnitiōnem perfēcērunt reliquīsque diēbus turrēs ad altitūdinem vāllī, falcēs testūdīnēsque, quās idem captivī docuerant, parāre ac facere coepērunt.

[5.43] Septimō oppugnātiōnis diē maximō coortō ventō ferventēs fūsili ex argillā glandēs fundis et fervefacta iacula in casās, quae mōre Gallicō strāmentis erant tēctae, iacere coepērunt. Hae celeriter ignem comprehendērunt et ventī magnitūdine in omnem locum castrōrum distulērunt. Hostēs maximō clāmōre sicutī partā iam atque explorātā victōriā turrēs testūdīnēsque agere et scālis vāllum ascendere coepērunt. At tanta militum virtūs atque ea praesentia animī fuit, ut, cum undique flammā torrērentur maximāque tēlōrum multitudine premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnēs fortūnās cōnflagrāre intellegerent, nōn modo dēmigrandī causā dē vāllō dēcēderet nēmō, sed paene nē respiceret quidem quisquam, ac tum omnēs ācerrimē fortissimēque pugnārent. Hic diēs nostrīs longē gravissimus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit ēventum, ut eō diē maximus numerus hostium vulnerārētur atque interficerētur, ut sē sub ipsō vāllō cōnstipāverant recessumque prīmīs ultimī nōn dabant. Paulum quidem intermissā flammā et quōdam locō turri adāctā et contingente vāllum tertiae cohortis centuriōnēs ex eō, quō stābant, locō recessērunt suosque omnēs remōvērunt, nūtū vōcibusque hostēs, sī introīre vellent, vocāre coepērunt; quōrum prōgredi ausus est nēmō. Tum ex omnī parte lapidibus coniectis dēturbātī, turrisque succēnsa est.

[5.44] Erant in eā legiōne fortissimī virī, centuriōnēs, quī prīmīs ordinibus appropinquārent, Titus Pullō et Lūcius Vorēnus. Hī perpetuās inter sē contrōversiās habēbant, quīnam anteferrētur, omnibusque annīs dē locīs summīs simultātibus contendēbant. Ex hīs Pullō, cum ācerrimē ad mūnitiōnēs pugnārētur, “quid dubitās,” inquit, “Vorēne? Aut quem locum tuae probandae virtūtis exspectās? Hic diēs dē nostrīs contrōversiīs iudicābit.” Haec cum dixisset, prōcēdit extrā mūnitiōnēs quaeque pars hostium cōnfertissima est vīsa irrumpit. Nē Vorēnus quidem tum sēsē vāllō continet, sed omnium veritus exīstimātiōnem subsequitur. Mediocrī spatiō relictō Pullō pilum in hostēs immittit atque ūnum ex multitudine prōcurrentem trāicit; quō percussō et exanimātō hunc scūtīs prōtegent, in hostem tēla ūniversī coniciunt neque dant regrediendī facultātem. Trānsfigitur scūtum Pullōnī et verūtum in balteō dēfigitur. Āvertit hic cāsus vāgīnam et gladium ēducere cōnantī dextram morātur manum, impeditumque hostēs circumsistunt. Succurrit inimīcus illī Vorēnus et labōranti subvenit. Ad hunc sē cōnfestim ā Pullōne omnis multitūdō convertit: illum verūtō arbitrantur occīsum. Gladiō comminus rem gerit Vorēnus atque ūnō interfectō reliquōs paulum prōpellit; dum cupidius instat, in locum dēiectus inferiōrem concidit. Huic rūsus circumventō fert subsidium

Pullō, atque ambō incolumēs complūribus interfectīs summā cum laude sēsē intrā mūnitiōnēs recipiunt. Sic fortūna in contentiōne et certāmine utrumque versāvit, ut alter alterī inimicus auxiliō salūtique esset, neque diiūdicārī posset, uter utrī virtūte antefendus vidērētur.

[5.45] Quantō erat in diēs gravior atque asperior oppugnātiō, et maximē quod magnā parte militum cōfectā vulneribus rēs ad paucitatem dēfensōrum pervēnerat, tantō crēbriōrēs litterae nūntiique ad Caesarem mittēbantur; quōrum pars dēprehēnsa in cōspectū nostrōrum militum cum cruciātū necābātur. Erat ūnus intus Nervius nōmine Verticō, locō nātus honestō, quī ā primā obsidiōne ad Cicerōnem perfūgerat suamque eī fidem praestiterat. Hic servō spē libertātis magnisque persuādet praemiis, ut litterās ad Caesarem dēferat. Hās ille in iaculō illigātās effert et Gallus inter Gallōs sine ūllā suspiciōne versātus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eō dē periculīs Cicerōnis legiōnisque cognōscitur.

[5.46] Caesar acceptīs litterīs hōrā circiter XI diēi statim nūntium in Bellovacōs ad Marcum Crassum quaestōrem mittit, cuius hiberna aberant ab eō milia passuum XXV; iubet mediā nocte legiōnem proficiscī celeriterque ad sē venīre. Exit cum nūntiō Crassus. Alterum ad Gāium Fabium lēgātum mittit, ut in Atrebātium finēs legiōnem addūcat, quā sibi iter faciendum sciēbat. Scribit Labiēnō, sī rei pūblicae commodō facere posset, cum legiōne ad finēs Nerviōrum veniat. Reliquam partem exercitūs, quod paulō aberat longius, nōn putat exspectandam; equitēs circiter quadringentōs ex proximīs hibernīs colligit.

[5.47] Hōrā circiter tertiā ab antecursōribus dē Crassī adventū certior factus eō diē milia passuum XX prōcēdit. Crassum Samarobrīvae praeficit legiōnemque attribuit, quod ibi impedīmenta exercitūs, obsidēs civitātum, litterās pūblicās frūmentumque omne quod eō tolerandae hiemis causā dēvexerat relinquēbat. Fabius, ut imperātum erat, nōn ita multum morātus in itinere cum legiōne occurrit. Labiēnus interitū Sabīnī et caede cohortium cognitā, cum omnēs ad eum Trēverōrum cōpiae vēnissent, veritus nē, sī ex hibernīs fugae similem profectiōnem fēcisset, hostium impetum sustinēre nōn posset, praesertim quōs recentī victōriā efferrī scīret, litterās Caesarī remittit, quantō cum periculō legiōnem ex hibernīs ēductūrus esset; rem gestam in Eburōnibus perscribit; docet omnēs equitātūs peditātūsque cōpiās Trēverōrum tria milia passuum longē ab suis castris cōnsēdisse.

[5.48] Caesar cōnsiliō eius probātō, etsi opīniōne trium legiōnum dēiectus ad duās redierat, tamen ūnum commūnis salūtis auxilium in celeritātē pōnēbat. Venit magnīs itineribus in Nerviōrum finēs. Ibi ex captīvīs cognōscit, quae apud Cicerōnem gerantur, quantōque in periculō rēs sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallīs magnīs praemiīs persuādet utī ad Cicerōnem epistolam dēferat. Hanc Graecīs cōscriptam litterīs mittit, nē interceptā epistolā nostra ab hostibus cōsilia cognōscantur. Sī adīre nōn possit, monet ut trāgulam cum epistolā ad āmentum dēligātā intrā mūnitiōnem castrōrum abiciat. In litterīs scribit sē cum legiōnibus profectum celeriter adfore; hortātur ut pristinam virtūtem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, trāgulam mittit. Haec cāsū ad turrim adhaesit neque ab nostrīs bīduō animadversa tertiō diē ā quōdam mīlite cōspicitur, dēmpla ad Cicerōnem dēfertur. Ille perlēctam in conventū mīlitum recitat maximāque omnēs laetitiā adficit. Tum fūmī incendiōrum procul vidēbantur; quae rēs omnem dubitatiōnem adventūs legiōnum expulit.

*Book Six*  
*Caesar DE BELLŌ GALLICŌ 6.13–6.20*

[6.13] In omnī Galliā eōrum hominum, quī aliquō sunt numerō atque honōre, genera sunt duo. Nam plēbēs paene servōrum habētur locō, quae nihil audet per sē, nullō adhibētur cōnsiliō. Plērique, cum aut aere aliēnō aut magnitūdine tribūtōrum aut iniūriā potentiōrum premuntur, sēsē in servitūtem dicant nōbilibus; quibus in hōs eadem omnia sunt iūra, quae dominis in servōs. Sed dē hīs duōbus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rēbus divīnis intersunt, sacrificia pūblica ac prīvāta prōcūrant, religiōnēs interpretantur: ad hōs magnus adulēscentium numerus disciplīnae causā concurrit, magnōque hī sunt apud eōs honōre. Nam ferē dē omnibus contrōversiīs pūblicis prīvātisque cōstituunt, et, sī quod est admissum facinus, sī caedēs facta, sī dē hērēditātē, dē finibus contrōversia est, idem dēcernunt, praemia poenāsque cōstituunt; sī quī aut prīvātus aut populus eōrum dēcrētō nōn stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eōs est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hī numerō impiōrum ac scelerātōrum habentur, hīs omnēs dēcēdunt, adiutū sermōnemque dēfugiunt, nē quid ex contāgiōne incommodi accipiant, neque hīs petentibus iūs redditur neque honōs ūllus communicātur. Hīs autem omnibus Druidibus praeest ūnus, quī summam inter eōs habet auctōritātem. Hōc mortuō aut sī quī ex reliquīs excellit dignitātē succēdit, aut, sī sunt plūrēs parēs, suffrāgiō Druidum, nōnnumquam etiam armīs dē prīncipātū contendunt. Hī certō annī tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regiō tōtius Galliae media habētur, cōsidunt in locō cōsecrātō. Hūc omnēs undique, quī contrōversiās habent, conveniunt eōrumque dēcrētis iūdicis que pārent. Disciplīna in Britannīā reperta atque inde in Galliam trāslāta esse existimātur, et nunc, quī dīligentius eam rem cognōscere volunt, plērumque illō discendī causā proficiscuntur.

[6.14] Druidēs ā bellō abesse cōsuērunt neque tribūta ūnā cum reliquīs pendunt; militiae vacatiōnem omniumque rērum habent immunitātem. Tantīs excitātī praemiis et suā sponte multī in disciplīnam conveniunt et ā parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ēdiscere dīcuntur. Itaque annōs nōnnūllī vicēnōs in disciplīnā permanent. Neque fās esse existimant ea litterīs mandāre, cum in reliquīs ferē

rēbus, pūblicis prīvātisque ratiōnibus, Graecis litteris ūtantur. Id mihi duābus dē causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferrī velint neque eōs, quī discunt, litteris cōnfisōs minus memoriae studēre: quod ferē plērisque accidit, ut praesidiō litterārū diligentiam in perdiscendō ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuādere, nōn interire animās, sed ab aliis post mortem trānsire ad aliōs, atque hōc maximē ad virtūtem excitārī putant metū mortis neglētō. Multa praeterea dē sīderibus atque eōrum mōtū, dē mundi ac terrarū magnitudīne, dē rērum nātūrā, dē deōrum immortalium vī ac potestāte disputant et iuventūtī trādunt.

[6.15] Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est ūsus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod ferē ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solēbat, utī aut ipsī iniuriās īferrent aut illātās prōpulsarent), omnēs in bellō versantur, atque eōrum ut quisque est genere cōpiisque amplissimus, ita plūrimōs circum sē ambactōs clientēsque habet. Hanc ūnam grātiā potentiamque nōvērunt.

[6.16] Nātiō est omnis Gallōrum admodum dēdita religiōnibus, atque ob eam causam, quī sunt adfectī graviōribus morbis quīque in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut prō victimis hominēs immolant aut sē immolātūrōs vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus ūtuntur, quod, prō vitā hominis nisi hominis vitā reddātur, nōn posse deōrum immortalium nūmen plācārī arbitrantur, pūblicēque eiusdem generis habent institūta sacrificia. Alii immānī magnitudīne simulācra habent, quōrum contexta vīminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succēnsis circumventi flammā exanimantur hominēs. Supplicia eōrum quī in fūrtō aut in latrōciniō aut aliquā noxiā sint comprehēnsi grātiōra dīs immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, cum eius generis cōpia dēficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia dēscendunt.

[6.17] Deum maximē Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plūrima simulācra: hunc omnium inventōrem artium ferunt, hunc viarū atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestūs pecūniae mercātūrāsque habēre vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Mārtē et Iovem et Minervam. Dē his eandem ferē, quam reliquae gentēs, habent opīniōnem: Apollinem morbōs dēpellere, Minervam operum atque artificiōrum initia trādere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenēre, Mārtē bella regere. Huic, cum proeliō dimicāre cōstituērunt, ea quae bellō cēperint plērumque dēvovent: cum

superāvērunt, animālia capta immolant reliquāsque rēs in ūnum locum cōferunt. Multis in cīvitatibus hārum rērum exstrūctōs tumulōs locīs cōsecrātīs cōspicārī licet; neque saepe accidit, ut neglēctā quispiam religiōne aut capta apud sē occultāre aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque eī rei supplicium cum cruciātū cōstitutum est.

[6.18] Gallī sē omnēs ab Dīte patre prōgnātōs praedicant idque ab Druidibus prōditum dīcunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis nōn numerō diērum sed noctium finīunt; diēs nātālēs et mēsum et annōrum initia sīc observant ut noctem diēs subsequātur. In reliquīs vītae īstitutīs hōc ferē ab reliquīs differunt, quod suōs liberōs, nisi cum adolēvērunt, ut mūnus militiae sustinēre possint, palam ad sē adīre nōn patiuntur filiumque puerīli aetāte in pūblicō in cōspectū patris assistere turpe dūcunt.

[6.19] Virī, quantās pecūniās ab uxōribus dōtis nōmine accēpērunt, tantās ex suis bonīs aestimātiōne factā cum dōtibus commūnicant. Huius omnis pecūniae coniūctim ratiō habētur frūctūsque servantur: uter eōrum vītā superārit, ad eum pars utriusque cum frūctibus superiōrum temporum pervenit. Virī in uxōrēs, sicuti in liberōs, vītae necisque habent potestātem; et cum pater familiae illūstriōre locō nātus dēcessit, eius propinquī conveniunt et, dē morte sī rēs in suspiciōnem vēnit, dē uxōribus in servīlem modum quaestiōnem habent et, sī compertum est, ignī atque omnibus tormentīs excruciatās interficiunt. Fūnera sunt prō cultū Gallōrum magnifica et sūmptuōsa; omniaque quae vīvīs cordī fuisse arbitrantur in ignem īferunt, etiam animālia, ac paulō suprà hanc memoriā servī et clientēs, quōs ab eis dīlētōs esse cōstābat, iūstīs fūneribus cōfectīs ūnā cremābantur.

[6.20] Quae cīvitatēs commodius suam rem pūblicā administrāre exīstīmantur, habent lēgibus sānctum, sī quis quid dē rē pūblicā ā finitimīs rūmōre aut fāmā accēperit, utī ad magistrātum dēferat nēve cum quō aliō commūnicet, quod saepe hominēs temerāriōs atque imperitōs falsīs rūmōribus terrērī et ad facinus impellī et dē summīs rēbus cōsiliū capere cognitum est. Magistrātūs quae vīsa sunt occultant quaeque esse ex ūsū iudicāvērunt multitudinī prōdunt. Dē rē pūblicā nisi per conciliū loquī nōn concēditur.





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## ENGLISH READINGS

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### *THE GALLIC WAR, by Julius Caesar*

Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn, from *Caesar's Commentaries*, in Harper's Classical Library, Harper & Brothers: New York, 1869; revised by Hans-Friedrich Mueller, 2011.

**C**aesar held his tumultuous consulship in 59 BCE. In 58 BCE, he took up his duties as governor of Roman Gaul, which included districts in northern Italy (i.e., nearer or **cis**-Alpine Gaul) and, beyond the Alps, territory along the Mediterranean coast that now belongs to France (i.e., the Province, a.k.a. further or **trans**-Alpine Gaul). Many of the inhabitants in these territories were ethnically and linguistically related to the Gauls whose territory Caesar would soon invade. Caesar begins the book with a brief overview of Gaul's geography and inhabitants. He quickly moves on to describe political turmoil among the Helvetii, a people who inhabited territory in what is now Switzerland, and who thus lived just across the border from Roman jurisdiction. Rome had always taken an interest in its neighbors on the grounds that what was near to them was a legitimate security interest, and Caesar will be careful to explain why his intervention in non-Roman territory was undertaken to protect the safety of his province. He does not present what he does as the opening of a war to conquer all Gaul. Quite the contrary. Once he has entered Gaul, however, he soon finds another reason to continue the war. According to Caesar, Gallic tribes request his assistance in driving out another invader, Ariovistus, who crossed the Rhine from German territory with a large number of Germans. Another Roman principle was that Romans help their friends. Ariovistus's settlement in Gallic territory also represented another threat to Rome, and the Romans considered the Germans even more formidable and dangerous adversaries than the Gauls. At all events, after crossing into Gaul to deal with the Helvetii, Caesar will subsequently defeat Ariovistus and the Germans. The invasion of Gaul has begun!

KEY TRIBES OF GAUL



## BOOK 1 [58 BCE]

NB: Because BG 1.1–7 is covered in Latin in this book and in order to eliminate any temptation to peek at the translation during class, we do not provide the translation of these passages here. Instead, we offer a brief summary of each omitted chapter.

### CHAPTER 1: CAESAR SURVEYS GAUL: GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Caesar talks about the geographical and ethnographical features of Gaul. The area may represent a geographical unity, but Caesar divides it ethnographically into three distinct regions on the basis of language and culture.

### CHAPTER 2: MEET THE HELVETII AND ORGETORIX, THE CONSPIRATOR

Caesar introduces the Helvetii, who lived just across the border from his Roman province. He also introduces Orgetorix, who, according to Caesar, has formed a conspiracy with the goal of conquering all of Gaul. As a first step, the Helvetii must leave their homes and move deeper into Gallic territory.

### CHAPTER 3: THE SCHEME TO CONQUER GAUL

Orgetorix enlists allies among neighbors and conspires to take over his state.

### CHAPTER 4: ORGETORIX ON TRIAL AND A MYSTERIOUS DEATH

The Helvetii discover the conspiracy and put Orgetorix on trial, but he dies before the trial can be concluded.

### CHAPTER 5: EVEN WITHOUT ORGETORIX, THE HELVETII PROCEED ACCORDING TO THE PLAN

Despite the death of Orgetorix, the plan to emigrate from Helvetia proceeds. They stockpile provisions and continue to enlist allies.

### CHAPTER 6: TWO WAYS TO LEAVE HELVETIA

Caesar explains that there are two possible routes for the Helvetii to emigrate. The easier route passes through Roman territory, the more difficult route through the territory of the Sequani.

**CHAPTER 7: CAESAR TAKES ACTION**

*Caesar learns that the Helvetii are on the move and wish to pass through Roman territory. Caesar has the bridge across the Rhone torn down. Helvetian ambassadors visit Caesar, and request permission to pass through Roman territory. Caesar tells them that he will consider their request and that they should return on the Ides of April.*

**CHAPTER 8: CAESAR PREVENTS THE HELVETII FROM PASSING THROUGH ROMAN TERRITORY**

Meanwhile, with the legion that he had with him and the soldiers who had assembled from the Province, Caesar built a nineteen-mile-long wall, to the height of sixteen feet, and a trench, from the Lake of Geneva (which flows into the river Rhone) to Mount Jura (which separates the territories of the Sequani from those of the Helvetii). When that work was finished, he distributed garrisons and well-fortified posts, in order that he might more easily intercept the Helvetii, if they attempted to cross over against his will. When the day came that he had appointed with the ambassadors and they returned to him, he stated that he could not, consistently with the custom and precedent of the Roman people, grant anyone passage through the Province; and he let them understand that, if they should attempt to use violence, he would oppose them. The Helvetii, disappointed in this hope, attempted to force a passage, some by means of a bridge of boats and numerous rafts constructed for the purpose; others, by the fords of the Rhone, where the river was shallowest, sometimes by day, but more frequently by night. Being kept at bay by the strength of our works, however, and by the concentration of the soldiers, and by the javelins, they desisted from this attempt.

**CHAPTER 9: THE HELVETII DECIDE TO TRY THE ROUTE THROUGH NON-ROMAN TERRITORY**

There was one other route, namely, through the territory of the Sequani. On account of its narrowness, however, they could not travel by this route without the consent of the Sequani. As they could not of themselves prevail on the Sequani, they sent ambassadors to Dumnorix the Aeduan, in order that, through his intercession, they might obtain their request. Dumnorix, by his popularity and generosity, had great influence among the Sequani, and was friendly to the Helvetii, because he had married the daughter of Orgetorix of the Helvetian state; and, incited by a lust for supreme authority, was eager for a revolution, and wished to have as many states as possible

obligated to him by his kindness toward them. He, therefore, undertook the business and prevailed upon the Sequani to allow the Helvetii to march through their territories, and he arranged that they should give hostages to each other as a guarantee—the Sequani not to obstruct the Helvetii in their march, the Helvetii to pass through without crime and violence.

## **CHAPTER 10: CAESAR GATHERS HIS ARMY AND INVADES NON-ROMAN GAUL**

Caesar was told that the Helvetii intended to march through the country of the Sequani and the Aedui into the territories of the Santones, which are not far distant from those boundaries of the Tolosates, which is a state in the Province. If this took place, he saw that it would be extremely dangerous for the Province to have warlike men, who were enemies of the Roman people, bordering upon an open and very fertile tract of country. For these reasons he appointed Titus Labienus, his lieutenant, to the command of the fortification that he had made. He himself proceeded to Italy by forced marches, and there levied two legions, and led out from winter quarters three legions, which were spending the winter near Aquileia, and with these five legions he marched rapidly by the nearest route across the Alps into Further Gaul. Here the Centrones and the Graioceli and the Caturiges, having taken possession of the higher elevations, attempted to obstruct the army in their march. After having routed these tribes in several battles, Caesar arrived in the territories of the Vocontii in the Further Province on the seventh day from Ocelum, which is the most remote town of the Nearer Province (in northern Italy). From this place, he led his army into the country of the Allobroges, and from the Allobroges to the Segusiavi. These people are the first beyond the Province on the opposite side of the Rhone.

## **CHAPTER 11: WEAKER TRIBES IN GAUL ASK CAESAR FOR PROTECTION AGAINST THE HELVETII**

The Helvetii had by this time led their forces over through the narrow defile and the territories of the Sequani, and had arrived at the territories of the Aedui, and were ravaging their lands. The Aedui, as they could not defend themselves and their possessions against the Helvetii, sent ambassadors to Caesar to ask for assistance, pleading that, because they had at all times so well served the interests of the Roman people, their fields ought not to have been laid waste, their children carried off into slavery, their towns stormed, almost within sight of our army! At the same time the Ambarri, the friends

and kinsmen of the Aedui, apprised Caesar that it was not easy for them, now that their fields had been devastated, to ward off the violence of the enemy from their towns. The Allobroges likewise, who had villages and possessions on the other side of the Rhone, fled for refuge to Caesar and assured him that they had nothing left except the soil of their land. Caesar, induced by these circumstances, decided that he should not wait until the Helvetii, after destroying all the property of his allies, arrived among the Santones.



Ancient coins are an invaluable source for reconstructing the ancient world. They provide insight into the material culture of the period as well as insight into the ideals and messages communicated by the coin's images. This coin shows the profile of a Gallic chieftain and, on the obverse, presumably his horse.

## CHAPTER 12: CAESAR CONFRONTS THE HELVETII AND WINS A BATTLE

There is a river called the Saone (Arar), which flows through the territories of the Aedui and Sequani into the Rhone with such incredible slowness, that it cannot be determined by the eye in which direction it flows. The Helvetii were crossing this river by rafts and boats joined together. When Caesar was informed by spies that the Helvetii had already conveyed three-fourths of their forces across that river, but that the fourth part was left behind on the nearer side of the Saone, he set out from the camp with three legions during the third watch of the night, and came upon that division that had not yet crossed the river. Attacking them encumbered with baggage and not expecting him, he cut to pieces a great part of them. The rest took to flight, and concealed themselves in the nearest woods. The name of that canton [which was cut down] was called the Tigurine; for the whole Helvetian state is divided into four cantons. This single canton, having left

their country, within the recollection of our fathers, had slain Lucius Cassius, the consul, and had made his army pass under the yoke [in 107 BCE]. Thus, whether by chance, or by the design of the immortal gods, that part of the Helvetian state that had brought a signal calamity upon the Roman people was the first to pay the penalty. In this action, Caesar avenged not only the public but also his own personal injuries, because the Tigurini had slain, in the same battle as Cassius himself, Cassius's lieutenant, Lucius Piso, the grandfather of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law.

### **CHAPTER 13: THE HELVETII NEGOTIATE WITH CAESAR BUT REFUSE TO BACK DOWN**

After this battle was over, in order that he might be able to catch up with the remaining forces of the Helvetii, Caesar had a bridge put across the Saone, and then led his army over it. The Helvetii, confused by his sudden arrival, when they found that Caesar had accomplished in one day what they themselves had with the utmost difficulty accomplished in twenty, namely, the crossing of the river, sent ambassadors to him. At the head of the embassy was Divico, who had been commander of the Helvetii in the war against Cassius. He negotiated with Caesar, stating that if the Roman people would make peace with the Helvetii, they would go to that part of Gaul, and stay there wherever Caesar might appoint and desire them to be—but, if, on the other hand, Caesar persisted in persecuting them with war, he ought to remember both the ancient disgrace of the Roman people and the characteristic valor of the Helvetii. As to his having attacked one canton by surprise, at a time when those who had crossed the river could not bring assistance to their friends, he ought not on that account to ascribe very much credit to his own valor or despise the Helvetii. They had learned from their fathers and ancestors to rely more on valor than on trickery and ambush. For this reason, let Caesar not bring it to pass that the place where they were standing should acquire a name from the disaster of the Roman people and the destruction of their army or transmit the remembrance [of such a disaster to posterity].

### **CHAPTER 14: CAESAR REPLIES WITH HARSH DEMANDS OF HIS OWN TO THE HELVETIAN AMBASSADORS**

To these words Caesar replied that, for that reason, he felt less need to hesitate, because he kept in remembrance those circumstances that the Helvetian ambassadors had mentioned, and he felt all the more indignant



about these events, to the extent that they had happened undeservedly to the Roman people. For, if they had been conscious of having done anything wrong, it would not have been difficult for them to be on their guard. For that very reason, however, they had been deceived, because neither were they aware that they had committed any offense, on account of which they should be afraid, nor did they think that they ought to be afraid without cause. But, even if he were willing to forget their former atrocity, could he also lay aside the remembrance of the recent injuries, in that they had, against his will, attempted to take a route through the Province by force, in that they had harassed the Aedui, the Ambarri, and the Allobroges? As to their so insolently boasting of their victory, and as to their being astonished that they had for such a long time committed their outrages with impunity, both these things pointed to the same conclusion, for the immortal gods generally allow those persons, whom they wish to punish for their guilt, to enjoy for a time a greater prosperity and longer impunity, in order that they may suffer all the more severely from a reverse of fortune. Although these things were true, yet, if the Helvetii gave hostages to Caesar, in order that he might be assured that they would do what they promised, and, provided they would give satisfaction to the Aedui for the outrages which the Helvetii had committed against the Aedui and their allies, and likewise to the Allobroges, Caesar would make peace with them.

Divico replied that the Helvetii had been so trained by their ancestors, that they were accustomed to receive, not to give hostages—of that fact the Roman people were witness. Having given this reply, he withdrew.

## **CHAPTER 15: THE HELVETII CONTINUE THEIR MARCH; CAESAR FOLLOWS.**

On the following day, the Helvetii moved their camp from that place. Caesar did the same, and sent ahead all his cavalry, about four thousand in number (which he had drawn together from all parts of the Province and from the Aedui and their allies), to observe in what direction the enemy were heading in their march. The cavalry, having too eagerly pursued the enemy's rear, engaged in a battle with the cavalry of the Helvetii in a disadvantageous place, and a few of our men fell. The Helvetii, elated with this battle, because they had with five hundred cavalry repulsed so large a body of cavalry, began to face us more boldly, sometimes too from their rear to provoke our men by an attack. Caesar, however, restrained his men

from battle, deeming it sufficient for the present to prevent the enemy from plundering, foraging, and destroying. They marched for about fifteen days in such a manner that there was not more than five or six miles between the enemy's rear and our vanguard.

## **CHAPTER 16: CAESAR HAS TROUBLE MAINTAINING HIS LINES OF SUPPLY**

Meanwhile, Caesar kept daily importuning the Aedui for the grain that they had promised in the name of their state, for, in consequence of the coldness (Gaul, as mentioned earlier, is situated toward the north), not only was the grain in the fields not ripe, but there was not in store a sufficiently large quantity even of fodder for the animals. Besides, Caesar was unable to use the grain that he had conveyed in ships up the river Saone, because the Helvetii, from whose pursuit he was unwilling to desist, had diverted their march away from the Saone. The Aedui kept deferring from day to day, and saying that it was "being collected—brought in—on the road." When Caesar saw that they were putting him off too long, and that the day was close at hand on which he was supposed to distribute grain to his soldiers—having called together their chiefs, of whom he had a great number in his camp, among them Diviciacus and Liscus who was invested with the chief magistracy (whom the Aedui style "the Vergobretus," and who is elected annually and has the power of life and death over his countrymen)—he severely reprimanded them, because he was not assisted by them on so urgent an occasion, when the enemy was so close at hand, and when grain could neither be bought nor harvested from the fields, particularly as he had undertaken the war in large measure because he had been urged by their prayers. Much more bitterly therefore did Caesar complain of his being forsaken.

## **CHAPTER 17: LISCUS REVEALS A CONSPIRACY AMONG CAESAR'S ALLIES IN CAESAR'S CAMP**

Then at length Liscus, moved by Caesar's speech, disclosed what he had until then kept secret: there were some whose influence with the people was very great, who, though private men, had more power than the magistrates themselves. These men by seditions and violent language were deterring the populace from contributing the grain that they were supposed to supply by telling them that, if they could no longer retain their supremacy in Gaul, it would be better to submit to the government of fellow Gauls than of

Romans, nor should they have any doubt that, if the Romans overpowered the Helvetii, they would obtain their freedom from the Aedui together with the remainder of Gaul.

By these very men, Liscus explained, were our plans and whatever was done in the camp, disclosed to the enemy. They could not be restrained by him, and, what was more, Liscus was well aware at how great a risk to himself that he, although compelled by necessity, had disclosed the matter to Caesar; and for that reason, he had remained silent as long as he could.

## **CHAPTER 18: CAESAR INTERROGATES LISCUS AND MAKES INQUIRIES INTO DUMNORIX'S CONDUCT**

Caesar perceived that Liscus's speech implicated Dumnorix, the brother of Diviciacus. As he was unwilling, however, to discuss these matters while so many were present, he speedily dismissed the council, but detained Liscus. He inquired from Liscus when alone about the matters he had mentioned in the meeting. Liscus spoke more unreservedly and boldly. Caesar made inquiries on the same points privately of others, and discovered that it was all true, and that Dumnorix was the person, a man of the highest daring, in great favor with the people on account of his generosity, a man eager for a revolution. For a great many years Dumnorix had been in the habit of obtaining the contract for the collection of the customs and all the other taxes of the Aedui at a small cost, because, when he bid for the contract, no one dared to bid against him. By these means, he had both increased his own private property and amassed great means for giving largesses. He maintained constantly at his own expense and kept about his own person a great number of cavalry. Not only at home, but even among the neighboring states, he had great influence, and for the sake of strengthening this influence had given his mother in marriage among the Bituriges to the most noble and most influential man there. He had himself taken a wife from among the Helvetii, and had given his sister by the mother's side and his female relations in marriage into other states. He favored and wished well to the Helvetii on account of this connection. He hated Caesar and the Romans on his own account, because by their arrival his power was weakened, and his brother Diviciacus had been restored to his former position of influence and dignity. If anything were to happen to the Romans, he would entertain the highest hope of gaining the supreme authority by means of the Helvetii, but, under the government of the Roman people, he despaired not only of political rule, but even of that influence which he already had.

Caesar discovered too, on inquiring into the unsuccessful cavalry engagement, which had taken place a few days before, that the commencement of that flight had been made by Dumnorix and his cavalry (for Dumnorix was in command of the cavalry whom the Aedui had sent to aid to Caesar); and that by their flight the rest of the cavalry were dismayed.

### **CHAPTER 19: CAESAR SUMMONS DIVICIACUS, THE BROTHER OF DUMNORIX**

After learning these circumstances, the most unequivocal facts confirmed these suspicions. Dumnorix had led the Helvetii through the territories of the Sequani. Dumnorix had arranged that hostages should be mutually exchanged. Dumnorix had done all these things, not only without any orders from Caesar and from his own state, but even without the Aedui knowing anything about it themselves. Dumnorix stood accused by the chief magistrate of the Aedui. Caesar considered that there was sufficient reason why he should either punish Dumnorix himself, or order the state to do so. One thing, however, stood in the way of all this—he had learned by experience his brother Diviciacus's very high regard for the Roman people, his great affection toward Caesar, Diviciacus's distinguished faithfulness, justice, and moderation. For this reason, Caesar was afraid lest, by the punishment of Dumnorix, he should hurt the feelings of Diviciacus. Therefore, before he attempted anything, he ordered Diviciacus to be summoned to him, and, when the ordinary interpreters had been withdrawn, conversed with him through Gaius Valerius Procillus, chief of the province of Gaul, an intimate friend of Caesar's, in whom he reposed the highest confidence in everything. At the same time, Caesar reminded Diviciacus of what was said about Dumnorix in the council of the Gauls, when he himself was present, and showed what each had said about Dumnorix privately in Caesar's own presence. Caesar asked and exhorted him, that, without offense to Diviciacus's feelings, he might either himself pass judgment on Dumnorix after trying the case, or else order the Aeduan state to do so.

### **CHAPTER 20: DIVICIACUS CRIES, CAESAR RELENTS, AND DUMNORIX RECEIVES A SCOLDING**

Diviciacus, embracing Caesar, began to implore him with many tears not to pass any very severe sentence upon his brother; saying that he knew that those charges were true, and that nobody suffered more pain on that account than he himself did, for, at the time when he exercised

great power as well as influence at home and in the rest of Gaul and Dumnorix enjoyed very little of either on account of his youth, Dumnorix had become powerful through his assistance. This power and strength Dumnorix now used not only in diminishing Diviciacus's popularity, but almost to his ruin. He, however, was influenced both by brotherly affection and by public opinion. But, if anything very severe from Caesar should befall Dumnorix, no one would think that it had been done without Diviciacus's consent, since he himself held such a distinguished place in Caesar's friendship. From this circumstance, the affections of the whole of Gaul would be estranged from Caesar. While he was, with tears, begging these things of Caesar in many words, Caesar took Diviciacus's right hand and comforted him. Caesar begged him to make an end of entreating, and assured him that his regard for him was so great that, at his desire and prayers, he forgave both the injuries of the Republic and his private wrongs. Caesar summoned Dumnorix to himself. Caesar brought in Dumnorix's brother. He pointed out what he censured in Dumnorix. He laid before him what he perceived on his own, and what the state complained of. He warned Dumnorix for the future to avoid all grounds of suspicion. He said that he pardoned the past for the sake of his brother Diviciacus. Caesar then set spies over Dumnorix that he might be able to know what he did, and with whom he communicated.

## **CHAPTER 21: CAESAR PURSUES THE HELVETII—AT NIGHT**

On the same day, Caesar was informed by his scouts that the enemy had encamped at the foot of a mountain eight miles from his own camp. He sent persons to ascertain the nature of the mountain and to determine what sort of ascent there was on every side. Word was brought back that it was easy. During the third watch of the night, he ordered Titus Labienus, his lieutenant with praetorian powers, to ascend to the highest ridge of the mountain with two legions, and with those men as guides who had examined the road. Caesar explained what his plan was. He himself during the fourth watch hastened to them by the same route that the enemy had used, and he sent all the cavalry ahead. Publius Considius, who was reputed to be very experienced in military affairs, and had been in the army of Lucius Sulla, and afterward in that of Marcus Crassus, was sent ahead with the scouts.

**CHAPTER 22: DAY DAWNS, BUT CONSIDIUS'S PANIC ATTACK  
SPOILS THE PLAN**

At daybreak, when the summit of the mountain was in the possession of Titus Labienus, and he himself was not further off than a mile and a half from the enemy's camp, nor, as he afterward ascertained from the captives, had either his arrival or that of Labienus been discovered, Considius, with his horse at full gallop, came up to him, and said that the mountain that Caesar had wanted Labienus to seize was in possession of the enemy. He had allegedly discovered this by the Gallic arms and ensigns he witnessed. Caesar led off his forces to the next hill, and drew them up in battle order. Labienus, because he had been ordered by Caesar not to come to an engagement unless Caesar's own forces were seen near the enemy's camp, in order that the attack upon the enemy might be made on every side at the same time, was, after having taken possession of the mountain, waiting for our men and refraining from battle. When, at length, the day was far advanced, Caesar learned through spies that the mountain was actually in possession of his own men, and that the Helvetii had meanwhile moved their camp. Considius, struck with fear, had reported to Caesar eyewitness testimony of things that he had not actually seen. On that day, Caesar followed the enemy at his usual distance, and pitched his camp three miles from theirs.

**CHAPTER 23: CAESAR DIVERTS HIS COURSE TO MAINTAIN  
HIS LINE OF SUPPLIES**

The next day (as there remained in all only two day's space until the time when he had to distribute grain to his army, and as he was not more than eighteen miles from Bibracte, by far the largest and best-stored town of the Aedui), Caesar thought that he should provide for a supply of grain. He thus diverted his march from the Helvetii and advanced rapidly to Bibracte. This circumstance was reported to the enemy by some deserters from Lucius Aemilius, a captain of the Gallic cavalry. The Helvetii, either because they thought that the Romans, struck with terror, were retreating from them, all the more so, inasmuch as the day before, although they had seized on the higher grounds, they had not joined battle or because they flattered themselves that they might cut off the Romans from provisions, altered their plan, changed their route, and began to pursue and to harass our men in the rear.

**CHAPTER 24: THE HELVETII ATTACK**

Caesar, when he observed this, drew off his forces to the next hill, and sent the cavalry to sustain the attack of the enemy. He himself, meanwhile, drew up on the middle of the hill a triple line of his four veteran legions in such a manner that he placed above him on the very summit the two legions, which he had lately levied in Nearer Gaul, and all the auxiliaries. He ordered the whole mountain to be covered with men, and at the same time the baggage to be brought together into one place, and the position to be protected by those who were posted in the upper line. The Helvetii, who had followed with all their wagons, collected their baggage into one place. They themselves, after they repulsed our cavalry and formed a phalanx, advanced up to our front line in very close order.

**CHAPTER 25: CAESAR DESCRIBES THE BATTLE**

Caesar removed out of sight first his own horse and then those of all the men, so that he might make the danger equal for everyone, and thus do away with the hope of flight. After encouraging his men, he joined battle. His soldiers, hurling their javelins from the higher ground, easily broke the enemy's phalanx. After they dispersed the phalanx, they made a charge on the Helvetii with drawn swords. The Gauls were very much hindered in the fight whenever several of their shields were, by one stroke of the Roman javelins, pierced through and pinned fast together. The point of the iron would bend upon impact, and, as a result, the Helvetii could neither pluck it out, nor, with their left hand entangled, fight with sufficient ease. For this reason, many of them, after an unsuccessful attempt to shake the javelin loose, chose rather to cast away the shield from their hand, and to fight with their person unprotected. At length, worn out with wounds, they began to give way, and, as there was in the neighborhood a mountain about a mile off, to flee in that direction. When they had reached the mountain, and our men were approaching, the Boii and Tulingi (who, with about 15,000 men, followed closely the enemy's line of march, and served as a guard to their rear) attacked our men on the exposed flank as they advanced in order to surround our men. Upon seeing this, the Helvetii, who had fled to the mountain, began to attack again and renew the battle. The Romans then shifted their formation, and advanced to the attack in two divisions: the first and second line to resist those who had been defeated and driven off the field; the third line to meet those who were just arriving.

**CHAPTER 26: CAESAR DEFEATS THE HELVETII**

In such fashion the contest was long and vigorously carried on with doubtful success. When the Helvetii could no longer withstand the attacks of our men, one division, as they had initially begun to do, fled to the mountain. The other division retreated to their baggage and wagons. During this entire battle, although the fight lasted from the seventh hour [i.e., early afternoon] to evening, no one could see an enemy with his back turned. The fight was carried on also at the baggage till late in the night, for the Helvetii had set wagons in the way as a rampart, and some, from the higher ground, kept throwing weapons upon our men as they approached, and others, from between the wagons and the wheels, kept hurling their lances and javelins from below, and wounding our men. After the fight had lasted for some time, our men gained possession of their baggage and camp. There the daughter and one of the sons of Orgetorix were captured. After the battle, about 130,000 persons remained alive. They marched incessantly during the whole of that night, and, after a march discontinued for no part of the night, arrived in the territories of the Lingones on the fourth day. Our men, meanwhile, stopped for three days, both to care for wounded soldiers and to bury the dead, and thus had not been able to follow them. Caesar sent letters and messengers to the Lingones with orders not to assist the Helvetii with grain or with anything else; and instructed the Ligones that, if they were to assist them, he would regard them in the same light as the Helvetii. After the three days' interval, Caesar began to follow the Helvetii himself with all his forces.

**CHAPTER 27: TERMS FOR PEACE AND A NOCTURNAL ESCAPE**

The Helvetii, compelled by their complete lack of supplies, sent ambassadors to Caesar to discuss surrender. The ambassadors met Caesar on the way and threw themselves at his feet. Speaking in suppliant tone, with tears they sued for peace. Caesar ordered them to await his arrival in the place where the Helvetii then were. The ambassadors obeyed his commands. When Caesar arrived at that place, he demanded hostages, their weapons, and the slaves who had deserted to them. While the Helvetii were searching for and collecting everything, after a night's interval, about 6,000 men of that canton which is called the Verbigene, whether, terrified by the fear that, after delivering up their arms, they would suffer punishment, or else induced by the hope of safety, because they supposed that, amid so vast a multitude of those who had surrendered themselves, their own escape



might either be concealed or entirely overlooked, at nightfall departed out of the camp of the Helvetii, and hastened to the Rhine and the territories of the Germans.

### **CHAPTER 28: CAESAR SENDS THE HELVETII HOME**

But when Caesar discovered this, he commanded the people through whose territory they had fled to hunt them down, and to bring them back again, if they wanted Caesar to acquit them of complicity. After these escapees had been brought back, Caesar treated them as enemies. All the other Helvetii, however, Caesar admitted to a surrender after they had delivered the hostages, weapons, and deserters. Caesar ordered the Helvetii, the Tulingi, and the Latobrigi to return home to the territories from which they had come. But, because they had destroyed their crops and there was at home no means to stave off famine, he commanded the Allobroges to let them have a plentiful supply of grain. Caesar also ordered them to rebuild the towns and villages that they had burned. This he did, chiefly, on this account, because he was unwilling that the country, from which the Helvetii had departed, should be left unoccupied. Otherwise, the Germans, who dwell on the other side of the Rhine, on account of the excellence of the lands, might cross over from their own territories into those of the Helvetii, and become neighbors to the province of Gaul and the Allobroges. Caesar granted the petition of the Aedui, that they might allow the Boii to settle in their own (i.e., in the Aeduan) territories, as the Boii were known to be of distinguished valor. The Aedui gave them farmlands, and they afterwards admitted them to the same state of rights and freedom as themselves.

### **CHAPTER 29: CAESAR'S MATH LESSON: WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 368,000 AND 110,000?**

In the camp of the Helvetii, lists were found, drawn up in Greek characters, and were brought to Caesar, in which an estimate had been drawn up, name by name, of the number of Helvetii who had emigrated from their country, the number of those who were able to bear arms, and likewise the number of boys, of old men, and of women, separately. The total number of all Helvetii was 263,000; of Tulingi, 36,000; of Latobrigi, 14,000; of Rauraci, 23,000; of Boii, 32,000. The grand total of all these people amounted to 368,000. Of all these people, the number who could bear arms amounted to about 92,000. When, as Caesar had commanded, the census of those who returned home was taken, the number was found to be 110,000.

### **CHAPTER 30: GAUL NOTICES CAESAR'S VICTORY AND REQUESTS A MEETING**

When the war with the Helvetii was concluded, ambassadors from almost all parts of Gaul, who were the leaders of the various states, assembled to congratulate Caesar. They stated that they were well aware that, although he had taken vengeance on the Helvetii in war for the old wrong done by the Helvetii to the Roman people, yet that event had turned out to be of benefit no less to the land of Gaul than of the Roman people, because the Helvetii, although their affairs were most prosperous, had abandoned their country with the design of waging war upon the whole of Gaul. They also aimed at seizing the government of Gaul, and at selecting, out of a great abundance, that spot for their own abode, which they should judge to be the most convenient and most productive of all Gaul, and they planned to hold the rest of the states as tributaries. The ambassadors requested that they might be allowed to proclaim an assembly of the whole of Gaul for a particular day, and to do that with Caesar's permission. They stated that they had some things, which, with the general consent, they wished to ask of Caesar. Caesar granted their request, and they appointed a day for the assembly, and ordained by an oath with each other, that their deliberations were to be disclosed only by those to whom this duty should be assigned by the general assembly.

### **CHAPTER 31: THE GAULS COMPLAIN ABOUT ARIOVISTUS AND THE GERMANS**

When that assembly was dismissed, the same chiefs of states, who had before been to Caesar, returned. They asked that they might be allowed to discuss with him privately concerning their own safety and the safety of all. After they obtained their request, they all threw themselves in tears at Caesar's feet. They stated that they begged and earnestly desired no less that what they might say should remain secret than that they might obtain the things they wished for. For they saw that if a disclosure were made, they would be put to the greatest tortures.

Diviciacus the Aeduan spoke on their behalf, and he told Caesar that there were two parties in the whole of Gaul; that the Aedui stood at the head of one of the two parties, the Arverni at the head of the other. After the Aedui and Arverni had already been violently struggling with one another for dominance for many years, it happened that the Arverni and Sequani hired Germans as mercenaries. At first about 15,000 Germans crossed the Rhine.

But, after that, these wild and savage men fell in love with the lands and the refinement and the abundance of the Gauls. More Germans were then brought over, and now there were as many as 120,000 of them in Gaul. The Aedui and their dependents had repeatedly struggled in arms with these Germans. The Aedui had been routed, and had sustained a great calamity. They had lost all their nobility, all their senate, all their cavalry. Moreover, broken by such engagements and calamities, although they had formerly been very powerful in Gaul, on account of both their own valor and the Roman people's hospitality and friendship, they were now compelled to give the chief nobles of their state as hostages to the Sequani, and to bind their state by an oath that they would neither demand hostages in return nor supplicate aid from the Roman people nor refuse to be forever under the sway and empire of the Sequani.

Diviciacus also stated that he was the only one out of all the state of the Aedui who could not be prevailed upon to take the oath or to give his children as hostages. For this reason, he had fled from his state and had gone to the Senate at Rome to beseech aid, as he alone was bound neither by oath nor hostages. But a worse thing had befallen the victorious Sequani than the vanquished Aedui, for Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, had settled in their territories, and had seized a third of their land, which was the best in the whole of Gaul, and was now ordering them to depart from another third of their land, because a few months ago 24,000 Harudes had come to him, for whom room and settlements had to be provided. The consequence of this would be that in a few years they would all be driven from the territories of Gaul, and all the Germans would cross the Rhine, because neither the land of the Germans nor their standard of living was on a level comparable to the level enjoyed by the Gauls.

Moreover, as for Ariovistus, no sooner did he defeat the forces of the Gauls in a battle (which took place at Magetobria) than he began to lord it over them haughtily and cruelly, demanding as hostages the children of all the principal nobles, and wreaking on them every kind of cruelty, if everything was not done at his nod or pleasure. He was a savage, passionate, and reckless man, and his commands could no longer be borne. Unless there was some aid from Caesar and the Roman people, the Gauls would all be compelled to do the same thing that the Helvetii had done, namely, emigrate from their country, and seek another dwelling place, other settlements remote from the Germans, and try whatever fortune may fall to their lot. If these things were to be disclosed to Ariovistus, Diviciacus added, he had no doubt that Ariovistus would inflict the most severe punishment on

all the hostages who were in his possession. He also said that Caesar could, either by his own influence and by that of his army, or by his recent victory, or by name of the Roman people, intimidate Ariovistus, so as to prevent a greater number of Germans from being brought over the Rhine, and could protect all of Gaul from the outrages of Ariovistus.

### **CHAPTER 32: THE SEQUANI ARE TOO TERRIFIED TO SPEAK AT ALL**

When this speech had been delivered by Diviciacus, all who were present began with loud lamentation to beg for assistance from Caesar. Caesar noticed that the Sequani were the only people among all of them who did none of the things that the others did, but, with their heads bowed down, gazed on the earth in sadness. Wondering what was the reason of this conduct, Caesar asked them. No reply did the Sequani make, but silently continued in the same sadness. When he had repeatedly inquired of them and could not elicit any answer at all, the same Diviciacus the Aeduan answered that the fate of the Sequani was more wretched and grievous than that of the rest, on this account, because they alone did not dare, even in secret, to complain or supplicate aid. They shuddered at the cruelty of Ariovistus, even when he was absent, just as if he were present, for, despite everything, the rest of them were at least granted an opportunity to escape; but the Sequani, who had admitted Ariovistus within their territories, and whose towns were all in his power, were compelled to endure all tortures.

### **CHAPTER 33: CAESAR DECIDES THAT THE GERMANS ARE A THREAT TO HIS PROVINCE AND TO ITALY**

Caesar, after learning these things, cheered the minds of the Gauls with his words, and promised that this affair would be an object of his concern. He told them that he had great hopes that Ariovistus, induced both by his kindness and by his power, would put an end to his oppression. After delivering this speech, Caesar dismissed the assembly. And, besides those statements, many circumstances led Caesar to think that this business ought to be considered and taken up by him, especially as he saw that the Aedui, whom the Senate had repeatedly called “brothers” and “cousins by blood,” were held in slavery and subjection to the Germans, and he was aware that their hostages were with Ariovistus and the Sequani. This, in so mighty an empire as that of the Roman people, he considered a huge disgrace to himself and the Republic. Moreover, if the Germans should by degrees become

accustomed to cross the Rhine, and a great body of them should settle in Gaul, Caesar saw that this would be dangerous to the Roman people. He also reckoned that wild and savage men, after they had conquered all Gaul, would not likely restrain themselves from invading the Province, and, after this, from marching into Italy (as the Cimbri and Teutones had done before them), particularly as the river Rhone was the sole barrier that separated the Sequani from our province. To prevent these events, Caesar thought he ought to work as speedily as possible. Moreover, Ariovistus, for his part, had assumed to himself such pride and arrogance that he appeared insufferable.

#### **CHAPTER 34: ARIOVISTUS REFUSES CAESAR'S DEMAND FOR A CONFERENCE**

Caesar therefore determined to send ambassadors to Ariovistus to demand that he name some intermediate spot for a conference between the two of them. He stated that he wished to discuss with him state business and matters of the highest importance to both of them. To this embassy Ariovistus replied that, if he himself had had need of anything from Caesar, he would have gone to Caesar; and that, if Caesar wanted anything from him, Caesar ought to come to him. Besides, neither did he dare go without an army into those parts of Gaul that Caesar controlled nor could he, without great expense and trouble, assemble his army in one place. Moreover, it appeared strange to him what business either Caesar or the Roman people at all had in his own part of Gaul, which he had conquered in war.

#### **CHAPTER 35: CAESAR MAKES MORE DETAILED DEMANDS**

When these answers were reported to Caesar, he sent ambassadors to Ariovistus a second time with this message: "Since, after having been treated with so much kindness by Caesar and the Roman people (inasmuch as he had, during Caesar's consulship [in 59 BCE], been styled 'king and friend' by the Senate), he makes this recompense to Caesar and the Roman people, namely, that, when invited to a conference, he refuses, and does not think that it concerns him to advise and inform himself about an object of mutual interest, these are the things that Caesar requires of him: first, that he no longer bring any body of men across the Rhine into Gaul; in the next place, that he restore the hostages, whom he took from the Aedui, and that he grant the Sequani permission to restore to the Aedui with his consent those hostages whom they have, and that he neither provoke the Aedui by outrage nor wage war upon them or their allies. If he should, as instructed, do this," Caesar stated

that “he himself and the Roman people will entertain a perpetual feeling of favor and friendship toward him; but, if Caesar does not obtain his desires, he (inasmuch as, in the consulship of Marcus Messala and Marcus Piso [in 61 BCE], the Senate had decreed that whoever should have the administration of the province of Gaul should, as far as he could do so consistently with the interests of the Republic, protect the Aedui and the other friends of the Roman people), will not ignore the wrongs done to the Aedui.”

### **CHAPTER 36: ARIOVISTUS MAKES AN ARROGANT REPLY TO CAESAR’S DEMANDS**

To this Ariovistus replied that the right of war was that they who had conquered should govern those whom they had conquered in what manner they pleased. In that same manner, the Roman people were accustomed to govern the nations that they had conquered, not according to the dictates of anyone else, but according to their own discretion. If he, for his part, did not dictate to the Roman people as to the manner in which they were to exercise their right, he ought not to be obstructed by the Roman people in his right. The Aedui, inasmuch as they had tried the fortune of war, and had engaged in arms and been conquered, had become tributaries to him. Caesar was doing a great injustice in that, by his arrival, Caesar was reducing the value of Ariovistus’s revenues. Ariovistus was not going to restore their hostages to the Aedui, but neither would he make war wrongfully either upon them or their allies, provided that they abided by that which had been agreed on, and paid their tribute annually. If the Aedui did not continue to do that, the Roman people’s name of “brothers” would not help them in the least. As to Caesar’s threatening him, that Caesar would not ignore the wrongs done to the Aedui, Ariovistus stated that no one had ever entered into a contest with Ariovistus without utter ruin to himself. Caesar might enter the lists whenever he chose. He would then experience what invincible Germans, well-trained as they were beyond all others in arms, who, for fourteen years, had not been beneath a roof, could achieve by their valor.

### **CHAPTER 37: MORE GERMANS AND A SPEEDY DEPARTURE**

At the same time that this message was delivered to Caesar, ambassadors came from the Aedui and the Treviri. The Aedui complained that the Harudes, who had lately been brought over into Gaul, were ravaging their territories, and that they had not been able to purchase peace from Ariovistus, even by giving hostages.

The Treviri stated that a hundred cantons of the Suebi had encamped on the banks of the Rhine, and were attempting to cross it, and that the brothers Nasua and Cimberius commanded them. Greatly alarmed by these reports, Caesar thought that he ought to use all speed, for fear that, if this new band of Suebi should unite with the old troops of Ariovistus, Ariovistus might be less easily resisted. Having therefore, as quickly as he could, provided a supply of grain, Caesar hastened to Ariovistus by forced marches.

### **CHAPTER 38: CAESAR SEIZES VESONTIO (BESANÇON)**

When Caesar had proceeded three days' journey, word was brought to him that Ariovistus was hastening with all his forces to seize Vesontio, which is the largest town of the Sequani, and that Ariovistus had already advanced three days' journey from his territories. Caesar thought that he ought to take the greatest precautions to prevent this, for there was in that town a most ample supply of everything that was useful for war. This town was also so well fortified by the nature of the ground as to afford a great facility for conducting a war, inasmuch as the river Doubs (Dubis) almost surrounds the whole town, as though it were traced round it with a pair of compasses. A mountain of great height shuts in the remaining space, which is not more than 600 feet, where the river leaves a gap, in such a way that the base of that mountain extend to the river's bank on either side. A wall built around it turns this mountain into a citadel, and connects it with the town. Caesar hastened to this place by forced marches by night and day, and, after having seized the town, stationed a garrison there.

### **CHAPTER 39: CAESAR'S TROOPS PANIC**

Caesar halted for a few days at Vesontio for the sake of grain and provisions. As a result of inquiries made by our men and the reports of the Gauls and traders (who asserted that the Germans were men of huge stature, of incredible valor and practice in arms—that frequently they, on encountering them, could not bear even their gaze and the fierceness of their eyes), a great panic suddenly seized the whole army, and discomposed the minds and spirits of all in no slight degree. This alarm first arose among the tribunes of the soldiers, the prefects, and the rest, who had followed Caesar from the City [of Rome] out of motives of friendship, but had no great experience in military affairs. Some of them alleged one reason, some another, that they said made it necessary for them to depart. They requested that with Caesar's



consent they might be allowed to withdraw. Some, influenced by shame, stayed behind, in order that they might avoid the suspicion of cowardice. These men, however, could neither compose their countenance nor even sometimes check their tears. But, hidden in their tents, they either bewailed their fate or lamented with their comrades the general danger. Wills were sealed everywhere throughout the whole camp.

By the expressions and cowardice of these men, even those who possessed extensive military experience, both soldiers and centurions, and those who were in command of the cavalry [as decurions], were gradually disconcerted. Such of them, as they wished to be considered less alarmed, said that they did not dread the enemy, but feared the narrowness of the roads and the vastness of the forests that lay between them and Ariovistus, or else that the supplies could not be brought up readily enough. Some even declared to Caesar that, when Caesar gave orders for the camp to be moved and the troops to advance, the soldiers would not obey the command, nor advance as a result of their fear.

#### **CHAPTER 40: CAESAR HARANGUES THE TROOPS**

When Caesar observed these things, he called a council, and summoned to it the centurions of all the companies. He severely reprimanded them, particularly, for supposing that it belonged to them to inquire or conjecture, either in what direction they were marching, or with what object. Ariovistus, during Caesar's consulship [in 59 BCE], had most anxiously sought after the friendship of the Roman people—why should anyone believe that Ariovistus would so rashly depart from his duty? For his part, Caesar was persuaded that, when his demands were known and the fairness of the terms considered, Ariovistus would reject neither Caesar's nor the Roman people's favor.

But, even if, driven on by rage and madness, Ariovistus should make war upon them, why were they so scared? Or why should they despair either of their own valor or of Caesar's zeal? A trial had been made of that enemy within our fathers' recollection, when, at the defeat of the Cimbri [101 BCE] and Teutones [102 BCE] by Gaius Marius, the army was regarded as having deserved no less praise than their commander himself. Further tests had been passed recently, too, in Italy, during the rebellion of the slaves [73–71 BCE], who had even been assisted to some extent by the experience and training that they had received from us. From these experiences, an opinion might be formed concerning the advantages that courage carries with it,



inasmuch as the enemies whom the Romans had for some time groundlessly feared when they were unarmed, they had afterward defeated when their enemies were well-armed and flushed with success.

In short, these Germans were the same men whom the Helvetii have generally vanquished in frequent encounters not only in their own territories but also in German territories, and yet even the Helvetii have not been a match for our army. If the unsuccessful battle and flight of the Gauls were a source of worry and concern, they, if they made inquiries, might discover that, when the Gauls had been tired out by the long duration of the war, Ariovistus, after he had many months kept himself in his camp and in the marshes, and had given no opportunity for a battle, suddenly attacked the Gauls, who, by this time, had given up hope of a battle, and were scattered in all directions. Ariovistus was victorious more through stratagem and cunning than valor. But, though there had been room for such stratagem against savage and unskilled men, not even Ariovistus himself expected that our armies could be entrapped by trickery.

Those, on the other hand, who attributed their fear to a pretense about the deficiency of supplies and the narrowness of the roads, acted presumptuously, as they seemed either to distrust their general's discharge of his duty or to dictate to him. Such matters were Caesar's concern. The Sequani, the Leuci, and the Lingones were to furnish the grain, and it was already ripe in the fields. As to the road, they would soon be able to judge it for themselves.

As to the report that the soldiers would not obey Caesar's command or advance, he was not at all disturbed by that. For Caesar knew that in all cases where an army had refused to obey their general's command, either fortune had deserted the general after some mismanaged affair or his greed had been clearly proved after the discovery of some crime. Caesar's personal integrity had been on display throughout his whole life, and his good fortune in the war with the Helvetii was equally apparent. Caesar would therefore immediately put into action what he had intended to put off till a more distant day, and would break his camp the next night, in the fourth watch, in order that he might ascertain, as soon as possible, whether a sense of honor and duty or whether fear had more influence with them.

But, even if no one else would follow, he would still go with the tenth legion alone, whose absolute loyalty was beyond suspicion. They would serve as his praetorian cohort [the elite troops who escorted the commanding general]. Caesar had greatly favored this legion, and in it, on account of its valor, he placed the greatest confidence.

**CHAPTER 41: THE ARMY'S MOOD CHANGES AND CAESAR DEPARTS BEFORE DAWN**

Upon the delivery of this speech, the minds of all were changed in a surprising manner, and all the men were inspired with the greatest zeal and enthusiasm for prosecuting the war. The tenth legion was the first to return thanks to Caesar, through their military tribunes, for his having expressed this most favorable opinion of them. They assured him that they were quite ready to prosecute the war. Then, the other legions endeavored, through their military tribunes and the centurions of the principal companies, to excuse themselves to Caesar. They told him that they had never felt either doubt or fear, or had supposed that deciding on the conduct of the war was their task and not their general's. He accepted their excuse, and had the road carefully reconnoitered by Diviciacus, because Caesar had the greatest faith in him above all others. There was a circuitous route of more than fifty miles that would allow Caesar to lead his army through open territory. And he then set out in the fourth watch, as he had said he would. On the seventh day, as he did not interrupt his march, he was informed by scouts that the forces of Ariovistus were only twenty-four miles away from ours.

**CHAPTER 42: ARIOVISTUS AGREES TO A PARLEY, AND CAESAR CONVERTS HIS INFANTRY INTO A CAVALRY**

Upon being apprised of Caesar's arrival, Ariovistus sent ambassadors to him, indicating that the conference that Caesar had earlier requested might now, as far as he was concerned, take place, since Caesar had approached nearer, and he considered that he might now meet without danger. Caesar did not reject the proposal and began to think that Ariovistus was now returning to a rational state of mind, as he spontaneously proffered what he had previously refused when Caesar had requested it. And, in light of his own and the Roman people's great favors toward Ariovistus, Caesar was also in great hopes that, in the end, Ariovistus would desist from his obstinacy after he learned Caesar's demands. The day of the conference was set for the fifth day after that.

Meanwhile, inasmuch as ambassadors were often sent back and forth between them, Ariovistus demanded that Caesar not bring any foot soldiers with him to the conference, because he was afraid of being ensnared by him through treachery. Both should come accompanied by cavalry, and he would not come on any other condition. Caesar, however, although he did not want the conference to be broken off by the pretense of an excuse, did

not dare to trust his life to the cavalry, which consisted of Gauls. He therefore decided that it would be most expedient to take away from the Gallic cavalry all their horses, and to mount on their horses the legionary soldiers of the tenth legion, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, in order that he might have a bodyguard as trustworthy as possible, should there be any need for action. And when this was done, one of the soldiers of the tenth legion said (not without a touch of humor) that Caesar did more for them than he had promised: “he had promised to employ the tenth legion as his praetorian cohort; but he now converted them into equestrians.”<sup>1</sup>

### **CHAPTER 43: CAESAR REITERATES HIS DEMANDS TO ARIOVISTUS AT THEIR CONFERENCE**

There was a large plain, and in it a mound of earth of considerable size. This spot was at nearly an equal distance from both camps. To that place, as had been arranged, they came for the conference. Caesar stationed the legion, which he had brought with him on horseback, 200 paces from this mound. The cavalry of Ariovistus also took their stand at an equal distance. Ariovistus then demanded that they should confer on horseback, and that, besides themselves, each of them should bring ten men to the conference.

When they had come to the place, Caesar, in the opening of his speech, detailed his own and the Senate’s favors toward Ariovistus. He had been styled “king,” he had been styled “friend” by the Senate, and very considerable presents had been sent to him. Such honors, Caesar informed him, had fallen to the lot of few, and had usually been bestowed in consideration of important personal services. Ariovistus, although he had a just ground neither for an introduction to the Senate nor for the request, had obtained these honors through the kindness and generosity of Caesar and the Senate.

Caesar informed him too how old and how just were the grounds of connection that existed between the Romans and the Aedui, what decrees the Senate had passed in their favor, and how frequent and how honorable

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1. *Equites* at Rome were a census class that originally indicated that those in it possessed enough wealth to buy their own horses. Such men had in earlier times formed the Roman cavalry. This was no longer the case in Caesar’s day, as the cavalry consisted instead of foreigners. The soldier thus implies that, by putting the infantry on horses, and thus converting them into a cavalry, Caesar intends to reward them with the wealth that they would require for status as equestrians at Rome.

these decrees were; and how from time immemorial the Aedui had held supremacy over all Gaul, even before they had sought our friendship. It was the custom of the Roman people to desire not only that its allies and friends should lose none of their property, but also that they should be advanced in influence, dignity, and honor. Who then could endure that what they had brought with them to the friendship of the Roman people should be torn from them? Caesar then made the same demands that he had commissioned the ambassadors to make. Ariovistus was not to wage war either on the Aedui or their allies, and he should restore the hostages. If he could not send back to their country any of the Germans, he should at all events no longer permit any more of them to cross the Rhine.

#### **CHAPTER 44: ARIOVISTUS REPLIES THAT CAESAR SHOULD LEAVE ARIOVISTUS'S PART OF GAUL**

Ariovistus briefly replied to the demands of Caesar, but preached a great deal about his own virtues. He had crossed the Rhine, not of his own accord, but after he was invited and sent for by the Gauls. He would not have left home and family without great expectations and great rewards. He had settlements in Gaul that had been granted by the Gauls themselves. The hostages had been sent to him voluntarily. He took by right of war the tribute that conquerors are accustomed to impose on the conquered. He had not made war upon the Gauls, but the Gauls upon him. All the states of Gaul came to attack him and had encamped against him. All their forces had been routed and beaten by him in a single battle. If they chose to make a second trial, he was ready to encounter them again, but, if they chose to enjoy peace, it was unfair to refuse the tribute, which of their own free will they had paid up to that time.

The friendship of the Roman people ought to prove to him an ornament and a safeguard, not a detriment, and he had sought it with that expectation. But, if, through the Roman people, the tribute was to be discontinued, and those who paid it were to be seduced from him, he would renounce the friendship of the Roman people no less heartily than he had sought it. As to his leading over a host of Germans into Gaul, he was doing this in order to protect himself, not to attack Gaul. There was no evidence for hostile intent on his part: he had not come without being invited, and he did not make war, but merely warded it off.

He had come into Gaul before the Roman people. Never before this time had a Roman army gone beyond the frontiers of the province of Gaul. What did Caesar want? Why had he come into Ariovistus's domains? This

was Ariovistus's province of Gaul, just as the other one was ours. Just as he would not be pardoned, if he were to make an attack upon our territories; so, likewise, we were unjust to obstruct him in exercising his rights. As for Caesar's saying that the Aedui had been styled "brothers" by the Senate, he was not so uncivilized nor so ignorant of affairs as not to know that neither had the Aedui in the very last war with the Allobroges rendered assistance to the Romans, nor had they received any assistance from the Roman people in the battles that they had been fighting with him and with the Sequani.

He had to feel suspicious that Caesar, although feigning friendship as the reason for his keeping an army in Gaul, was actually keeping it with the intention of crushing him. And, unless Caesar departed and withdrew his army from these parts, he would regard him not as a friend, but as a foe. And, if he should put Caesar to death, he would do what would please many of the nobles and leading men of the Roman people. He had assurance of this fact from them through their messengers, and he could purchase the favor and the friendship of them all by Caesar's death. But, if Caesar would depart, and resign to Ariovistus the free possession of Gaul, he would recompense Caesar with a great reward, and would bring to a close whatever wars Caesar wished to be carried on, without any trouble or risk to Caesar.

#### **CHAPTER 45: CAESAR EXPLAINS WHY ROME, NOT**

#### **ARIOVISTUS, HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE POLICY IN GAUL**

Many things were stated by Caesar to show why he could not let the business go, and that neither his practice nor the Roman people's would permit him to abandon most meritorious allies, nor did he deem that Gaul belonged to Ariovistus rather than to the Roman people. The Arverni and the Ruteni had been subdued in war by Quintus Fabius Maximus [in 121 BCE], but the Roman people had pardoned them and had not reduced them into a province or imposed a tribute upon them. And, if whoever had the most ancient claim was to be the standard—then the sovereignty of the Roman people in Gaul was the most just claim. If, on the other hand, the decree of the Senate was to be observed, then Gaul ought to be free, because the Romans, although they had conquered it in war, had permitted Gaul to enjoy its own laws.

**CHAPTER 46: CAESAR BREAKS OFF THE CONFERENCE**

While these things were being transacted in the conference, it was announced to Caesar that the cavalry of Ariovistus was approaching nearer the mound, and was riding up to our men, and casting stones and weapons at them. Caesar ended his speech and joined his men. He commanded them by no means to return fire upon the enemy. For, although he saw that an engagement with the cavalry would be without any danger to his chosen legion, he did not think that it was proper to engage. Otherwise, after the enemy had been routed, it might be said that they had been tricked by him while under the sanction of a conference. When it was reported among the common soldiers how arrogantly Ariovistus had behaved at the conference, and how he had ordered the Romans to quit Gaul, and how his cavalry had made an attack upon our men, and how this attack had broken off the conference, a much greater enthusiasm and eagerness for battle was infused into our army.

**CHAPTER 47: ARIOVISTUS WANTS TO CONTINUE THE CONFERENCE, BUT ARRESTS CAESAR'S ENVOYS**

Two days later, Ariovistus sent ambassadors to Caesar, to state that he wished to treat with him about those things they had begun to discuss between them, but had not been concluded, and to beg that Caesar would either again appoint a day for a conference or, if he were not willing to do that, that he would send one of his officers as an ambassador to him. There did not appear to Caesar any good reason for holding a conference, and all the more so as the day before the Germans could not be restrained from casting spears at our men. Caesar thought that it would be very dangerous to send to Ariovistus as ambassador one of his Roman officers, as this would expose the officer to savage men.

It seemed therefore most appropriate to send Gaius Valerius Procillus, the son of Gaius Valerius Caburus, a young man of the highest courage and accomplishments (whose father had been presented with the freedom of the City by Gaius Valerius Flaccus), both on account of his fidelity and on account of his knowledge of the Gallic language, which Ariovistus, by long practice, now spoke fluently, and because, in Procillus's case the Germans would have no motive for committing violence. As his colleague, Caesar sent Marcus Mettius, who had shared the hospitality of Ariovistus. Caesar commissioned them to learn what Ariovistus had to say, and to report back to him. But, when Ariovistus saw them before him in his camp, he cried out in the presence of his army: "Why have they come to me? To spy?" He stopped them when they tried to speak, and cast them into chains.

## **CHAPTER 48: ARIOVISTUS HARASSES CAESAR, BUT DOES NOT ENGAGE IN BATTLE**

The same day he moved his camp forward and pitched under a hill six miles from Caesar's camp. The next day he led his forces past Caesar's camp, and encamped two miles beyond him in order to cut off Caesar from the grain and provisions that were to be conveyed to him from the Sequani and the Aedui. For five days in a row from that day, Caesar drew out his forces before the camp, and put them in battle order, so that, if Ariovistus was willing to engage in battle, an opportunity for him would not be lacking. Ariovistus kept his army in camp all this time, although he did engage daily in cavalry skirmishes.

The method of battle in which the Germans had practiced themselves was this: there were 6,000 cavalry and as many very active and courageous foot soldiers. Each of the horsemen selected one foot soldier out of the whole army for his own protection. They were constantly accompanied by these foot soldiers in their engagements. The horsemen retired to them. The foot soldiers rushed forward in any emergency. If anyone, upon receiving a very severe wound, had fallen from his horse, they stood around him. If it was necessary to advance farther than usual or to retreat more rapidly, so great, from practice, was the foot soldiers' swiftness, that, supported by the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with the speed of the horses.

## **CHAPTER 49: CAESAR BUILDS A SECOND CAMP**

When he perceived that Ariovistus kept himself in camp, Caesar, in order not any longer to be cut off from supplies, chose a convenient position for a camp beyond the place where the Germans had encamped, which was about 600 paces from them, and, after drawing up his army in three lines, he marched to that place. He ordered the first and second lines to be under arms; the third to fortify the camp. This place was, as has been stated, about 600 paces from the enemy. Ariovistus sent light troops to this place, about 16,000 men in number, with all his cavalry to intimidate our men, and to hinder them in their work of fortification. Nevertheless, Caesar, as he had initially planned, ordered two lines to drive off the enemy; the third to execute the work. The camp was fortified, and Caesar stationed there two legions and a portion of the auxiliaries. He then led back the other four legions into the larger camp.



## **CHAPTER 50: CAESAR DISCOVERS WHY ARIOVISTUS REFUSES TO FIGHT**

The next day, according to his custom, Caesar led out his forces from both camps, and having advanced a little from the larger one, drew up his line of battle, and gave the enemy an opportunity of fighting. When he found that they did not even then come out from their entrenchments, he led back his army into camp about noon. Then at last Ariovistus sent part of his forces to attack the smaller camp. The battle was vigorously maintained on both sides till evening. At sunset, after many wounds had been inflicted and received, Ariovistus led back his forces into camp.

When Caesar inquired of his prisoners why Ariovistus did not come to an engagement, he discovered this to be the reason—that among the Germans it was the custom for their matrons to pronounce from lots and divination whether it was advantageous that the battle should be engaged in or not, and that the matrons had said that it was not the will of heaven that the Germans should conquer, if they engaged in battle before the new moon.

## **CHAPTER 51: CAESAR FORCES ARIOVISTUS TO ENGAGE IN BATTLE**

The next day, Caesar left what seemed sufficient as a guard for both camps, and then drew up all the auxiliaries in sight of the enemy in front of the smaller camp. He employed these allied troops for appearance, because, in comparison with the number of the enemy, he was not very powerful in the number of legionary soldiers. He himself drew up his legions in three lines, and advanced to the camp of the enemy. Then at last the Germans were compelled to draw their forces out of camp. They disposed them canton by canton at equal distances: the Harudes, Marcomanni, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii, Suebi. And they surrounded their whole army with their chariots and wagons, so that no hope might be left in flight. On these chariots and wagons, they placed their women, who, with disheveled hair and in tears, entreated the soldiers, as they went forward to battle, not to deliver them into slavery to the Romans.

## **CHAPTER 52: CAESAR DESCRIBES THE BATTLE**

Caesar appointed over each legion a lieutenant and a quaestor, so that every soldier might have witnesses of his valor. He himself began the battle at the head of the right wing, because he had observed that part of the enemy to be the least strong. Accordingly, our men, after the signal was given,



vigorously made an attack upon the enemy, but the enemy so suddenly and rapidly rushed forward that there was no time for casting the javelins at them. Our men therefore threw aside their javelins, and fought with swords hand to hand. But the Germans, according to their custom, rapidly formed a phalanx, and sustained the attack of our swords. Quite a few of our soldiers were discovered to be brave enough to leap upon the phalanx, and, with their hands, they tore away the shields, and wounded the enemy from above. Although the army of the enemy was routed on the left wing and put to flight, they still pressed heavily on our men from the right wing, by the great number of their troops. When he observed this, Publius Crassus, a young man, who commanded the cavalry—as he was more disengaged than those who were employed in the fight—sent the third line as a relief to our men, who were in distress.

### **CHAPTER 53: THE ROMANS WIN THE BATTLE AND CAESAR FINDS HIS ENVOYS**

After this, the engagement was renewed, and all the enemy turned their backs, nor did they cease to flee until they arrived at the river Rhine, about five miles from that place. There, some few, relying either on their strength, attempted to swim over, or, finding boats, procured their safety. Among the latter was Ariovistus, who, finding a small vessel tied to the bank, escaped in it. Our cavalry pursued and slew all the rest of them.

Ariovistus had two wives, one a Suebian by birth, whom he brought with him from home; the other a Norican, the sister of king Vocio, whom he had married in Gaul (she had been sent for that purpose by her brother). Both perished in that flight. Of their two daughters, one was killed, the other captured.

Gaius Valerius Procillus, as he was being dragged by his guards in the flight, and bound with a triple chain, fell into the hands of Caesar himself, as he was pursuing the enemy with his cavalry. This circumstance indeed gave Caesar no less pleasure than the victory itself, because he saw a man of the first rank in the province of Gaul, his intimate acquaintance and friend, rescued from the hand of the enemy, and restored to him, and because fortune had not at all diminished the joy and exultation of that day as it might have by the destruction of his friend. Procillus related that, in his own presence, the lots had been thrice consulted concerning his fate, whether he should immediately be put to death by fire or be reserved for another time: it was by the favor of the lots that he was uninjured. Marcus Mettius too was found and brought back to Caesar.

**CHAPTER 54: AFTERMATH AND WINTER QUARTERS**

After news of this battle was reported beyond the Rhine, the Suebi, who had come to the banks of that river, began to return home, and when the Ubii, who dwelled nearest to the Rhine, perceived the alarm of the Suebi, they pursued them and slew a great number of them. Caesar, having concluded two very important wars in one campaigning season, conducted his army into winter quarters among the Sequani, a little earlier than the season of the year required. He put Labienus in charge of the winter quarters, and set out in person for Nearer Gaul to administer justice in his capacity as governor of the province.

## BOOKS 2–5 [57–54 BCE]

*In Book Two, which relates the events of 57 BCE, Caesar campaigns against Belgic tribes in northern Gaul, thus extending his military power and political sway. At Rome, the Senate decrees fifteen days of prayers and sacrifices to the immortal gods in thanks for Caesar's successes. Book Three covers events from 57 through 56 BCE. Various campaigns throughout Gaul continue to extend and solidify Caesar's effective military control over the entire territory. By 55 BCE, military affairs seem fairly secure throughout Gaul, so, as Book Four describes, Caesar moves his military operations across the Rhine into German territory. This expedition is designed as a lesson to German leaders: Roman armies can hurt them in their own territory. The bridge that the Romans built across the Rhine was another demonstration of their superior abilities.*

*After this demonstration of Roman power against the Germans, Caesar decides to sail to Britain, and has a fleet built for this purpose. The fleet is damaged by a storm, but, after inflicting some defeats on local Britons, Caesar manages to repair the loss of his ships and to transport his troops safely back to the mainland. These expeditions against Germans and Britons were more spectacular than practical from a local military point of view, but they were effective in building Caesar's political popularity at Rome. The Senate this time decreed twenty days of prayers and sacrifices to the immortal gods in thanks for Caesar's military successes. In Book Five, which describes the events of 54 BCE, Caesar begins to experience setbacks. His second expedition to Britain is again marred by trouble with storms as well as some difficult fighting. The troops acquit themselves well, however, and Caesar manages to transport them to the mainland for winter. But, after the troops have been dispersed to widely separated winter quarters, Belgic tribes rise in revolt and manage to destroy one Roman legion before Caesar can come to the relief of others.*

## **BOOK 6 [53 BCE]**

*In Book Six, Caesar's troubles continue, as there are continued revolts among the Gauls. Caesar provides some narrative relief, however, from these difficulties by describing the customs, political organization, and religion of the Gauls (see AP Latin selections BG 6.13–20) and of the Germans.*

### **CHAPTER 1: CAESAR DRAFTS TWO NEW LEGIONS AND BORROWS A THIRD LEGION FROM POMPEY THE GREAT**

Caesar, because for many reasons he expected more serious resistance in Gaul, decided to have his lieutenants, Marcus Silanus, Gaius Antistius Reginus, and Titus Sextius, conduct a levy. At the same time, he asked the proconsul [for Spain], Gnaeus Pompey, inasmuch as he remained near the City invested with military command for the sake of the Republic, to order the men, whom he had while consul [in 55 BCE] levied by military oath in Cisalpine Gaul, to join their respective units, and to proceed to Caesar. Caesar considered this of great importance for the opinion that the Gauls would form regarding the future, namely, that the resources of Italy would appear so great that, even if the Romans sustained a loss in war, not only could they repair it in a short time, but they could likewise supply still larger forces. Pompey granted Caesar's request for the sake of the Republic and the claims of friendship, and Caesar's lieutenants quickly completed the levy. Three regiments were both formed and brought to Caesar before winter was over, and the number of the cohorts that he had lost under Quintus Titurius were doubled, thus enabling Caesar to teach the Gauls both by his quick efficiency and by the size of his forces what the discipline and the power of the Roman people could accomplish.

### **CHAPTER 2: ALLIANCES OF GERMAN TRIBES WITH AMBIORIX AND THREATS OF WAR FROM THE NERVII, ADUATUCI, AND MENAPII**

After Indutiomarus was killed, as we stated, the government was conferred upon his relatives by the Treviri. They did not cease to importune the neighboring Germans and to promise them money: when they failed to entice those nearest them, they tried those farther away. Having found some states willing to accede to their wishes, they entered into a compact with them by a mutual oath, and they gave hostages as a security for the money. They associated themselves with Ambiorix by an alliance and confederacy. Caesar, on being informed of their acts, saw that war was being prepared on

all sides. The Nervii, Aduatuci, and Menapii, with the addition of all the Germans on this side of the Rhine were all under arms. The Senones did not assemble according to his command, and were discussing measures with the Carnutes and the neighboring states. The Germans were tempted by frequent embassies from the Treviri. For all these reasons, Caesar thought that he ought to take measures for the war earlier than usual.

### **CHAPTER 3: CAESAR LAUNCHES A SURPRISE ATTACK AGAINST THE NERVII, AND MARCHES AGAINST THE SENONES**

Accordingly, before winter ended, having combined the four nearest legions, Caesar marched unexpectedly into the territories of the Nervii, and, before they could either assemble or retreat, captured a large number of cattle and people, laid waste their lands, and, giving up the captives as booty to the soldiers, compelled the natives to enter into a surrender and give him hostages. After he speedily executed this business, Caesar again led his legions back into winter-quarters. He announced a council of Gaul for the beginning of the spring, as he had been accustomed to do. When representatives from all Gaul came, except from the Senones, the Carnutes, and the Treveri, he judged this to be the beginning of war and revolt. In order that he might appear to consider all things of less importance than that war, Caesar transferred the council to Lutetia among the Parisii. They were adjacent to the Senones, and had united their state to them during the memory of their fathers, but were thought to have no part in the present plot. After he proclaimed this from the tribunal, Caesar advanced the same day toward the Senones with his legions, and arrived among them by forced marches.

### **CHAPTER 4: THE SENONES AND CARNUTES SURRENDER**

Acco, who had been the author of that enterprise, on being informed of Caesar's arrival, ordered the people to assemble in the towns. While attempting this, and before they could accomplish it, news was brought to them that the Romans were close at hand. Necessity compelled them to abandon their plan and to send ambassadors to Caesar for the purpose of imploring pardon. They approached him through the Aedui, whose state was from ancient times under the protection of Rome. Caesar readily granted them pardon, and received their excuse at the request of the Aedui, because he thought that the summer season was one for an impending war not for a judicial investigation. After demanding one hundred hostages, Caesar

delivered the hostages to the Aedui to be held in custody by them. The Carnutes sent ambassadors and hostages to the same place, and employed the Remi (who were their patrons and protectors) as their mediators. The Carnutes received the same answers. Caesar concluded the council, and imposed a levy of cavalry on the states.

### **CHAPTER 5: CAESAR PLANS TO ATTACK THE TREVERI AND AMBIORIX, BUT FIRST ATTACKS THE MENAPII**

After restoring tranquility to this part of Gaul, Caesar applied himself entirely, both in mind and soul, to the war with the Treviri and Ambiorix. He ordered Cavarinus to march with him with the cavalry of the Senones, lest any trouble should arise either from his hot temper or from the hatred of the state which he had incurred. After arranging these things, since he deemed it certain that Ambiorix would not fight a set battle, he considered his other plans carefully. The Menapii bordered on the territories of the Eburones, and were protected by one continuous extent of morasses and woods; and they alone out of Gaul had never sent ambassadors to Caesar to negotiate a treaty of peace. Caesar knew that a tie of hospitality existed between them and Ambiorix. He also discovered that the latter had entered into an alliance with the Germans through the Treviri. He thought that these auxiliaries ought to be detached from Ambiorix before he provoked Ambiorix to war; lest Ambiorix, despairing of safety, should either proceed to conceal himself in the territories of the Menapii, or should be driven to combine forces with the Germans beyond the Rhine. After he entered upon this resolution, Caesar sent the baggage of the whole army to Labienus in the territories of the Treviri, and ordered two legions to proceed to Labienus. He himself proceeded against the Menapii with five lightly-equipped legions. The Menapii, however, assembled no troops, as they relied on the defense of their position, and they retreated into the woods and morasses, and conveyed all their property there too.

### **CHAPTER 6: THE MENAPII SURRENDER TO CAESAR**

Caesar divided his forces with Gaius Fabius, his lieutenant, and Marcus Crassus, his quaestor, and hastily constructed some bridges. He entered country of the Menapii in three divisions, burned their houses and villages, and captured a large number of cattle and people. Forced by these circumstances, the Menapii sent ambassadors to Caesar to sue for peace. Caesar, after receiving hostages, instructed them that he would consider

them enemies if they should receive within their territories either Ambiorix or his ambassadors. After he settled these things, he left among the Menapii, Commius the Atrebatian, with some cavalry as a guard; he himself (i.e., Caesar) proceeded toward the Treviri.

#### **CHAPTER 7: LABIENUS LEADS THE ATTACK ON THE TREVERI**

While Caesar did these things, the Treviri, after assembling large forces of infantry and cavalry, were preparing to attack Labienus and the legion that was wintering in their territories. They were already not further distant from him than a journey of two days when they learned that two legions had arrived by the order of Caesar. They pitched their camp fifteen miles off, and resolved to await the support of the Germans. Labienus, having learned the design of the enemy, hoped that their rashness would afford some opportunity of engaging. After leaving a guard of five cohorts for the baggage, Labienus advanced against the enemy with twenty-five cohorts and a large body of cavalry, and, leaving the space of a mile between them, fortified his camp. There was between Labienus and the enemy a river difficult to cross, and with steep banks. Neither did he himself design to cross this river nor did he suppose the enemy would cross it. Their hope of assistance was daily increasing. Labienus openly said in a council that since the Germans were said to be approaching, he would not bring into uncertainty his own and the army's fortunes, and the next day would move his camp at early dawn. These words were quickly carried to the enemy, since out of so large a number of cavalry composed of Gauls, nature compelled some of them to favor the Gallic interests. Labienus, after he assembled the tribunes of the soldiers and principal centurions by night, stated what his plan was, and, in order that he might more easily lead the enemy to believe that he was filled with fear, he ordered the camp to be moved with greater noise and confusion than was usual among Romans. By such means he made his departure appear like a retreat. These things, also, since the camps were so near, were reported to the enemy by scouts before daylight.

#### **CHAPTER 8: LABIENUS DEFEATS THE TREVERI**

Scarcely had the rear advanced beyond the fortifications when the Gauls began to encourage one another not to cast from their hands the anticipated booty, as it was a tedious thing, while the Romans were panic-stricken, to be waiting for the aid of the Germans. They argued that their dignity did not permit them to fear to attack so small a band with such great forces, particularly when that band was retreating and encumbered with baggage.

Therefore, they did not hesitate to cross the river and give battle in a disadvantageous position. Labienus, suspecting that these things would happen, was proceeding quietly, and using the same pretense of a march, in order that he might entice them across the river. Then, having sent forward the baggage some short distance and having placed it on an eminence, he said, "Soldiers, you have the opportunity you have sought: you hold the enemy in an encumbered and disadvantageous position. Display to us, your leaders, the same valor you have often displayed to your general. Imagine that he is present and actually sees these exploits." At the same time, he ordered the troops to turn around toward the enemy and form a line of battle. Dispatching a few troops of cavalry as a guard for the baggage, he placed the rest of the cavalry on the wings. Our men, raising a shout, quickly threw their javelins at the enemy. The enemy, when, contrary to their expectation, they saw those whom they believed to be retreating, advance toward them with threatening banners, were not able to sustain even the charge, and, after being put to flight at the first onslaught, fled toward the nearest woods. Labienus pursued them with the cavalry. A large number were slain, and several taken prisoners. Labienus got possession of the state a few days later, as the Germans, who were coming to the aid of the Treviri, retreated to their homes after they were informed of their flight. The relatives of Indutiomarus, who had been the promoters of the revolt, accompanied them, and abandoned their own state with them. The supreme power and government were delivered to Cingetorix, who, as we have stated, remained firm in his allegiance from the beginning.

## **CHAPTER 9: CAESAR BUILDS A BRIDGE ACROSS THE RHINE, AND ACCEPTS THE SUBMISSION OF SOME OF AMBIORIX'S ALLIES**

Caesar, after he came from the territories of the Menapii into those of the Treviri, resolved for two reasons to cross the Rhine: first, because they had sent assistance to the Treviri against him; and second, in order that Ambiorix might not have a place to retreat among them. Having decided on these matters, he began to build a bridge a little above that place where he had earlier conveyed over his army. Caesar made his plan known and put into effect, and the work was accomplished in a few days by the great exertion of the soldiers. Caesar left a strong guard at the bridge on the side of the Treviri, so that no disturbance would suddenly arise among them. He then led over the rest of the forces and the cavalry. The Ubii, who before had sent hostages and come to a capitulation, sent ambassadors to Caesar



for the purpose of defending their conduct, and to assure him that they had neither sent auxiliaries to the Treveri from their state nor violated their allegiance. They entreated and beseeched him to spare them, lest, in his common hatred of the Germans, the innocent should suffer the penalty of the guilty, and they promised to give more hostages, if he desired them. After he investigated the case, Caesar found that the auxiliaries had been sent by the Suebi, so he accepted the apology of the Ubii, and made minute inquiries concerning the approaches and the routes to the territories of the Suebi.

#### **CHAPTER 10: THE SUEBI REMAIN HOSTILE**

In the meantime, Caesar was informed by the Ubii a few days later that the Suebi were drawing all their forces into one place, and were giving orders to those nations which were under their government to send auxiliaries of infantry and of cavalry. Having learned these things, Caesar provided for a supply of grain, selected a proper place for his camp, and commanded the Ubii to drive off their cattle and to carry away all their possessions from the countryside into the towns. Caesar hoped that the Suebi, because they were a barbarous and ignorant people, when harassed by the lack of provisions, might be brought to an engagement on disadvantageous terms. He ordered the Ubii to send numerous scouts among the Suebi, and learn what things were going on among them. They executed the orders, and, a few days later, reported that all the Suebi, after receiving certain intelligence concerning the arrival of the Roman army, had retreated with all their own forces and those of their allies, which they had assembled, to the utmost extremities of their territories. They also reported that there was a forest there of very great extent, which was called Bacenis; that this forest stretched a great way into the interior, and served as a natural barrier in defending the Cherusci from the injuries and incursions of the Suebi, and the Suebi from those of the Cherusci; and that the Suebi had decided to await the approach of the Romans at the entrance to this forest.

#### **CHAPTER 11: CAESAR INTERRUPTS THE NARRATIVE TO DESCRIBE THE CUSTOMS OF THE GAULS AND GERMAN; GAUL IS DIVIDED INTO FACTIONS**

Since we have come to this place, it does not appear to be foreign to our subject to lay before the reader an account of the manners of Gaul and Germany, and wherein these nations differ from each other. In Gaul there are factions not only in all the states, and in all the cantons and their divisions,

but almost in each family. The leaders of these factions are those who, by general agreement, are considered to possess the greatest influence. The management of all affairs and measures depends upon these leaders' will and determination. And this seems to have been instituted in ancient times in order that no one of the common people should lack support against someone more powerful; for none of those leaders suffers his supporters to be oppressed and defrauded, and, if he does otherwise, he has no influence among his party. This same policy exists throughout the whole of Gaul; for all the states are divided into two factions.

## **CHAPTER 12: THE AEDUI AND SEQUANI ARE RIVALS IN GAUL**

When Caesar arrived in Gaul, the Aedui were the leaders of one faction, the Sequani of the other. Because the Sequani were less powerful by themselves—inasmuch as the Aedui enjoyed the chief influence from of old among them, and their dependencies were great—they had united to themselves the Germans and Ariovistus, and had brought them over to their side by great payments and promises. And, having fought several successful battles and having slain all the nobility of the Aedui, they had so far surpassed them in power, that they brought over, from the Aedui to themselves, a large portion of their clients, and received from them the sons of their leading men as hostages, and compelled them to swear publicly on behalf of their state that they would enter into no design against them; and they held a portion of the neighboring land, which they seized on by force, and possessed the sovereignty of the whole of Gaul. Diviciacus, urged by this necessity, had proceeded to Rome to the Senate for the purpose of entreating assistance, and had returned without accomplishing his object. A change of affairs ensued on the arrival of Caesar. The hostages were returned to the Aedui, their old dependencies restored, and they acquired new dependents through Caesar (because those who had attached themselves to their alliance saw that they enjoyed a better state and a milder government). In all their other affairs, their influence and reputation were likewise increased, and, in consequence, the Sequani lost the sovereignty. The Remi succeeded to their place, and, as it was perceived that they equaled the Aedui in favor with Caesar, those, who on account of their old animosities could by no means coalesce with the Aedui, consigned themselves in clientship to the Remi. The latter carefully protected them. Thus they possessed both a new and suddenly acquired influence. Such was state of affairs then that the Aedui were considered by far the leading people, and the Remi held the second post of honor.

### **CHAPTERS 13–20: DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE GAULS**

*Because BG 6.13–20 are covered in Latin in this book and in order to eliminate any temptation to peek at the translation during class, we do not provide the translation of these passages here. The Gauls, as you will read (or already have), are both similar to and different from the Romans. The Germans, on the other hand, are much stranger.*

### **CHAPTER 21: THE GERMANS ARE MORE PRIMITIVE THAN GAULS**

The Germans differ much from Gallic usages, for they have neither Druids to preside over religious ceremonies, nor do they pay great regard to sacrifices. They rank in the number of the gods those alone whom they can see, and by whose assistance they are obviously benefited, namely, the Sun, Fire, and the Moon. They have not heard of the other gods, even by report. Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the pursuits of the military art. From childhood, they devote themselves to extreme effort and toughness. Those who have remained chaste for the longest time receive the greatest praise among their people. They think that growth is promoted, the physical powers are increased, and the muscles are strengthened by chastity. And they reckon having physical relations with a woman before the twentieth year among the most disgraceful acts. And there is no secrecy in such matters, because both sexes bathe together in the rivers, and they clothe themselves only with skins or small cloaks of deer's hides. A large portion of the body is in consequence of this naked.

### **CHAPTER 22: THE GERMANS NEITHER FARM NOR OWN PRIVATE PROPERTY**

They do not pay much attention to agriculture, and a large portion of their food consists in milk, cheese, and meat. No one owns a fixed quantity of land or an individual plot. Instead, the magistrates and the leading men each year apportion to the tribes and families who have united together as much land as, and in the place where, they deem appropriate. And, in the year after that, they compel them to move somewhere else. For this custom, they offer many reasons. They thereby prevent the comforts of long-term settlement from seducing the people to exchange their passion for waging war for agriculture. People do not become eager to acquire extensive estates with the result that the more powerful drive the weaker from their possessions.

People do not construct their houses with too great a desire to avoid cold and heat. The desire for wealth does not grow strong, from which cause divisions and discords arise. And they keep the common people in a contented state of mind, as each sees his own wealth equal to that of the most powerful.

### **CHAPTER 23: GERMAN MILITARY LEADERSHIP, JUSTICE, AND HOSPITALITY**

After laying waste to their frontiers, the various states consider it their greatest glory to have deserted territory as widely as possible around them. They consider this the real evidence of their manliness, that their neighbors are driven out of their lands and abandon them, and that no one dares to settle near them. At the same time, they think that they will on this account be all the more secure, because they have removed the fear of a sudden invasion. When a state either repels war waged against it, or wages war against another state, magistrates are chosen to preside over that war with an authority that extends to the power of life and death. In peace, there is no common magistrate. Instead, the chiefs of provinces and cantons administer justice and settle controversies among their own people. Robberies that are committed outside the boundaries of each state bear no infamy, and they assert that such robberies are committed for the purpose of disciplining their youth and of preventing sloth. And when any of their chiefs has stated in an assembly that he is going to be their leader, he says, "Let those who intend to follow me make a public declaration." Those who approve of both the enterprise and the man arise and promise their assistance and are applauded by the people. Those who have declined to follow him are considered deserters and traitors, and confidence in all matters is afterward refused them. Their religion does not permit them to violate the rules established for the treatment of guests. They defend from wrong those who have come to them for any reason whatsoever, and they esteem guests inviolable. The houses of all stand open to them, and food is freely shared.

### **CHAPTER 24: GAULS USED TO BE MORE WARLIKE THAN GERMANS, BUT GREW SOFT**

And there was formerly a time when the Gauls excelled the Germans in manliness, and waged aggressive war on them, and, on account of the great number of their people and their lack of land, sent colonies across the Rhine. The Volcae Tectosages thus seized those parts of Germany that are the most fruitful, and lie around the Hercynian forest (which was, I

see, known by report to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks who call it the Orcynian forest), and settled there. This nation to this day retains its position in these settlements, and has a very high reputation for justice and military merit. They still continue today in the same poverty, hardship, endurance as the Germans, and use the same food and dress. On the other hand, their proximity to the Province and knowledge of commodities from countries beyond the sea acquaints the Gauls with many things that promote luxury as well as civilization. Gradually accustomed to defeat, they have been beaten in many battles, and even they do not compare themselves to the Germans in manliness.

### **CHAPTER 25: THE HERCYNIAN FOREST**

The breadth of this Hercynian forest, which has been referred to above, requires for a quick traveler a journey of nine days. For it cannot be otherwise calculated, nor are the Germans acquainted with the measure of roads. The forest begins at the frontiers of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extends in a straight line along the river Danube to the territories of the Daci and the Anartes. From this point, it bends to the left in a direction away from the river, and, owing to its extent, touches on the borders of many nations. Nor is there any person belonging to this part of Germany who claims that he either has reached the end of that forest, even if he had proceeded on a journey of sixty days, or has learned in what place the forest begins. It is certain that many kinds of wild beasts are produced in it, which have not been seen in other areas. I will next describe those animals that differ the most from other animals, and thus appear worthy of being committed to record.

### **CHAPTER 26: THE GERMAN REINDEER**

There is an ox in the shape of a stag. Between its ears, a horn rises from the middle of the forehead, higher and straighter than those horns that are known to us. From the top of this, branches, like palms, stretch out a considerable distance. The shape of the female and of the male is the same; and the appearance and the size of their horns is the same.

### **CHAPTER 27: GERMAN ELKS**

There are also animals called elks. Their shape and the varied color of their skins are much like goats, but they surpass goats a little in size, and are destitute of horns. They have legs without joints and ligatures. Neither do they lie down for the purpose of rest nor, if they have been thrown down

by any accident, can they raise or lift themselves up. Trees serve as their beds. They lean themselves against them, and, thus reclining only slightly, they take their rest. When hunters have discovered from their tracks to what place they are accustomed to go, the hunters either undermine all the trees at the roots or cut into them so far that the upper part of the trees may appear to be left standing. When the elks have leaned on them according to their custom, they knock down the unsupported trees with their weight, and fall down along with the trees.

### **CHAPTER 28: THE GERMAN OX**

There is a third kind animal, which is called the ure-ox (aurochs). These German oxen are a little below the elephant in size and of the appearance, color, and shape of a bull. Their strength and speed are extraordinary. They spare neither man nor wild beast whom they have espied. The Germans make great efforts to trap them in pits where they kill them. The young men harden themselves with this exercise, and practice themselves in this kind of hunting. Those who have slain the greatest number of these oxen, produce the horns in public to serve as evidence, and receive great praise. But not even if they are caught when they are very young can these oxen be accustomed to people, and tamed. The size, shape, and appearance of their horns differ much from the horns of our oxen. The Germans eagerly search for these horns, bind their tips with silver, and use them as cups at their most sumptuous entertainments.

### **CHAPTER 29: CAESAR CROSSES BACK OVER THE RHINE, SETS A GUARD OVER THE BRIDGE, AND SETS OUT AGAINST AMBIORIX**

Caesar, after he discovered through the Ubian scouts that the Suebi had retired into their woods, feared a scarcity of grain, because, as we have observed above, all the Germans pay very little attention to agriculture. He thus resolved not to proceed any farther. On the other hand, in order not to free the barbarians completely from the fear of his return, and in order to delay their reinforcements, after leading his army back across, he broke down, to the length of 200 feet, the farther end of the bridge, which joined the banks of the Ubii, and, at the end of the bridge, he built towers four stories in height. He also stationed a guard of twelve cohorts to defend the bridge, and he strengthened the place with considerable fortifications. He appointed Gaius Volcatius Tullus, a young man, over that fort and garrison.

He himself, when the grain began to ripen, set forth for the war against Ambiorix (through the forest Arduenna [Ardennes], which is the largest in all Gaul, and stretches from the banks of the Rhine and the borders of the Treviri to those of the Nervii, and extends for more than 500 miles). He sent Lucius Minucius Basilus ahead with the whole cavalry, to attempt whether he might gain any advantage by rapid marches and the advantage of time. He instructed him to forbid fires from being made in the camp, lest any indication of his approach be given at a distance. He told Basilus that he would follow immediately.

### **CHAPTER 30: AMBIORIX ESCAPES BASILUS AND THE CAVALRY**

Basilus did as he was commanded. He performed his march rapidly, and even surpassed everyone's expectations. He surprised in the fields many, who were not expecting him. With the help of information from them, he advanced toward Ambiorix himself, to the place where he was said to be with a few cavalry. Fortune has great power, not only in other affairs, but also in the art of war. For, as it happened, by a remarkable chance, Basilus fell upon Ambiorix himself unguarded and unprepared, and the enemy witnessed Basilus's arrival before a report or any information about his arrival could be conveyed to them. It was thus an incident of extraordinary fortune that, although every implement of war which Ambiorix was accustomed to have about him was seized, and his chariots and horses surprised, yet he himself escaped death. This was accomplished, however, owing to the circumstance that his house was surrounded by a wood (as the dwellings of the Gauls generally are, as they mostly seek the neighborhood of woods and rivers for the purpose of avoiding heat). His attendants and friends withstood for a short time the attack of our cavalry in a narrow spot. While they were fighting, one of his followers mounted him on a horse. The woods sheltered him as he fled. Fortune thus played a large role in both his encounter with and his escape from danger.

### **CHAPTER 31: THE EBURONES CONDUCT GUERRILLA WARFARE, AND THEIR LEADER COMMITS SUICIDE**

It is doubtful whether Ambiorix failed to assemble his forces from cool calculation (because he considered it safer not to engage in a battle) or whether, with the sudden arrival of our cavalry, he was prevented from doing so by a lack of time when he supposed the rest of our army was closely following the cavalry. It is certain, however, that he dispatched messengers

throughout the country to order everyone to provide for his own safety. Some of them fled into the forest Arduenna [Ardennes]; some into the extensive morasses. Those who were nearest the ocean concealed themselves on the islands that the tides usually form. Many, departing from their territories, entrusted themselves and all their possessions to perfect strangers. Catuvolcus, king of half the Eburones, who had entered into the scheme together with Ambiorix, was then worn out by age, and thus unable to endure the fatigue either of war or flight. He cursed Ambiorix with every imprecation as the person who had been the contriver of that scheme, and he killed himself with the help of a yew-tree [whose berries are poisonous], of which there is a great abundance in Gaul and Germany.

### **CHAPTER 32: CAESAR PUTS CICERO IN CHARGE OF A LEGION TO GUARD THEIR EQUIPMENT**

The Segni and Condrusi, who derive their descent from, and count as, Germans, and who dwell between the Eburones and the Treviri, sent ambassadors to Caesar to request that he not reckon them in the number of his enemies nor consider that all the Germans on this side of the Rhine made common cause. They claimed that they had formed no plans of war, and had sent no auxiliaries to Ambiorix. Caesar, having verified this fact by interrogating his prisoners, commanded them to send back to him any of the Eburones, who in their flight had sought refuge with them. If they sent these refugees back to him, he assured them that he would not harm their territories. Then, having divided his forces into three parts, he sent the baggage of all the legions to Aduatuca. This is the name of a fort that is nearly in the middle of the Eburones, and it was here that Titurius and Aurunculeius had been quartered for the winter. Among other reasons, Caesar had also selected this place because the fortifications of the previous year remained in place, and in order to spare the soldiers a great deal of work. As a guard for the baggage, he left the fourteenth legion, which was one of the three legions that he had recently levied in Italy and brought over. He placed Quintus Tullius Cicero in charge of that legion and camp and gave him 200 cavalry.

### **CHAPTER 33: CAESAR DIVIDES HIS ARMY INTO THREE PARTS**

After dividing the army, he ordered Titus Labienus to proceed with three legions toward the ocean into those parts that border on the Menapii. He sent Gaius Trebonius with a like number of legions to lay waste that district that lies contiguous to the Aduatuci. He himself determined to go with the



remaining three legions to the river Sambre, which flows into the Meuse, and to the most remote parts of Arduenna [Ardennes]. He had heard that Ambiorix had gone to this region with a few cavalry. When departing, he promised that he would return before the end of the seventh day, which was the day (as he was well aware) that grain was supposed to be distributed to the legion that was being left on guard duty. He directed Labienus and Trebonius to return by the same day, as long as they could do so with advantage to the interests of the Republic, so that they might all once again confer on strategy, share what they had discovered about the enemy's tactics, and be able to commence a different line of operations.

#### **CHAPTER 34: THE GOING IS ROUGH, AND CAESAR TRIES TO PIT NEIGHBORING TRIBES AGAINST THE EBURONES**

There was, as we have above observed, no regular army. Neither was there a town or garrison that could defend itself by arms. The people were instead scattered in all directions. Wherever either a hidden valley or a woody spot or a difficult morass furnished some hope of protection or security, individuals had dug in. These places were known to those who dwelled in the neighborhood, and the matter demanded a great deal of attention, not so much to protect the main body of the army (for no danger could threaten the army as a whole from those alarmed and scattered troops), as to preserve the lives of individual soldiers, although this too contributed in some measure to the safety of the entire army. The problem was that both the desire for booty was inducing many to venture too far, and the woods with their unknown and hidden routes would not allow them to go in large groups. If Caesar wanted to finish the business, and exterminate the race of these criminal people, various groups of men had to be sent in several directions and the soldiers had to be separated from each other. If, however, he wanted to keep the companies at their standards, as the established discipline and practice of the Roman army required, the locality itself protected the barbarians. Moreover, there was not lacking among them individuals with the daring to lay secret ambushes and attack scattered soldiers. Amid dangers of this sort, such precautions were taken as could be made through vigilance. As a result, although the spirits of all were burning to take revenge, rather than inflict injury at the cost of any loss to our soldiers, some opportunities of injuring the enemy were neglected. Caesar dispatched messengers to the neighboring states. With

the prospect of booty, he invited all of them to join him in plundering the Eburones. He did this in order that the lives of Gauls rather than those of his legionary soldiers might be put at risk in the woods, and also, at the same time, in order that, by surrounding them with a large force, he might for such a crime annihilate the race of that people and name of their state. A large number from all quarters speedily assembled.

### **CHAPTER 35: RATHER THAN ATTACK THE EBURONES, THE SUGAMBRI DECIDE TO ATTACK CAESAR'S BAGGAGE**

These things were going on in all parts of the territories of the Eburones, and the seventh day was drawing near. This was the day on which Caesar had intended to return to the baggage and the legion. Here it was possible to observe how powerful a role fortune plays in war, and what great disasters fortune can inflict. The enemy, as we related above, had been scattered and alarmed. There was no force that could have produced even a slight occasion of fear. The report extended beyond the Rhine to the Germans that the Eburones were being pillaged, and that all tribes were without distinction invited to the plunder. The Sugambri, who lived nearest to the Rhine, and by whom, as we mentioned above, the Tencteri and Usipetes were received after their retreat, collected 2,000 cavalry. They crossed the Rhine in ships and rafts thirty miles below the place where the bridge was built and the garrison left by Caesar. They arrived at the frontiers of the Eburones, surprised many who were scattered in flight, and got possession of a large number of cattle, of which barbarians are extremely covetous. Allured by booty, they advanced farther. Neither morass nor forest obstructed these men born amid war and depredations. They asked their prisoners where Caesar was. They learned that he had advanced farther, and that the whole army had departed. At this point, one of the prisoners said, "Why do you pursue such wretched and trifling plunder, when it is possible for you to acquire the greatest fortune possible? In three hours you can reach Aduatuca where the Roman army has deposited all its fortune; there is so small a garrison that not even the wall can be manned, nor does anyone dare to go beyond the fortifications." After this hope was presented to them, the Germans left in concealment the plunder they had acquired. They themselves hastened to Aduatuca, employing as their guide the same man by whose information they had learned these things.

### **CHAPTER 36: CICERO PERMITS FIVE COHORTS TO FORAGE FOR GRAIN**

Cicero, who during all the preceding days had kept his soldiers in camp with the greatest exactness in accordance with Caesar's instructions, had not permitted even any of the camp-followers to go beyond the fortifications. On the seventh day, he was not sure whether Caesar would keep his promise about the number of days, because he heard that Caesar had proceeded farther, and no news concerning Caesar's return had been reported to him. He was being pressured at the same time by the comments of those who called his patience almost a siege, if, indeed, he would not permit anyone to go out of the camp. And, as there was no reason to expect any disaster that could inflict serious damage within three miles of the camp while nine legions and all the cavalry were under arms, and, inasmuch as the enemy were scattered and almost annihilated, Cicero sent five cohorts into the neighboring grain fields, between which and the camp only one hill intervened, for the purpose of foraging. Many soldiers of the legions had been left behind in the camp because they were sick, and many of these invalids had in the meantime recovered, so about 300 of them were sent together under one standard. A large number of camp slaves with a great number of beasts of burden, which had remained in the camp, were also granted permission to follow them.

### **CHAPTER 37: THE SUGAMBRI LAUNCH A SURPRISE ATTACK**

At this very moment, the German cavalry by chance came up, and immediately, with the same speed with which they had advanced, attempted to force the camp at the Decuman gate, and they were not observed until they were just reaching the camp because of woods that obstructed the view on that side. As a result, the traders who had their booths along the rampart did not have an opportunity to retreat into the camp. Our men, not anticipating anything, were confused by the sudden affair, and the cohort on the outpost scarcely withstood the first attack. The enemy spread themselves out to the other sides to ascertain whether they could find any access. Our men with difficulty defended the gates. The location itself and our fortifications secured the other access points. There was a panic in the entire camp, and men asked one another the cause of the confusion. They could not readily determine in what directions the standards should be carried, nor where each man should report for duty. One would assert that the camp was already taken, another insisted that the enemy, who had

destroyed the army and commander-in-chief, had arrived as conquerors. Most of the men formed strange superstitious ideas on the spot, and saw before their eyes the catastrophe of Cotta and Titurius, who had fallen in the same camp. Because such fears had induced such panic in everyone, the confidence of the barbarians was strengthened that there was in fact no garrison within, as they had heard from their prisoner. They attempted to force an entrance, and encouraged one another not to let so valuable a prize slip from their hands.

### **CHAPTER 38: BACULUS SAVES THE DAY (AND THE CAMP)**

Because he was sick, Publius Sextius Baculus, who had led a principal century under Caesar (we have made mention of him in previous battles), had been left in the garrison. He had by now been without food for five days. Worried about his own safety and everyone else's, he went forth from his tent unarmed. He saw that the enemy was close at hand and that matters were in the utmost danger. He snatched weapons from those nearest, and stationed himself at the gate. The centurions of the cohort who were on duty followed him. For a short time, they sustained the fight together. Sextius fainted after receiving many wounds. With difficulty he was saved, and dragged away by the soldiers from hand to hand. After this interval, the others recovered enough courage to venture to take their place on the fortifications and to present the appearance of defenders.

### **CHAPTER 39: THE SUGAMBRI ATTACK THE COHORTS FORAGING FOR GRAIN**

Meanwhile, after completing the foraging, our soldiers distinctly heard the shout. The cavalry hastened on ahead, and discovered how dangerous the situation was. But at this moment there was no fortification to receive them in their alarm. Those who had been enlisted most recently, and were unskilled in military discipline, turned their faces to the military tribune and the centurions. They waited to find out what orders they would give them. No one was so brave as not to be scared by the suddenness of the affair. The barbarians, catching sight of our standard in the distance, desisted from the attack. At first, they supposed that the legions, who, as they had learned from their prisoners, had moved farther off, had returned. Afterward, contemptuous of their small number, the barbarians attacked them on all sides.

**CHAPTER 40: THE SUGAMBRI KILL MANY OF THE ROMANS**

The camp-slaves ran off to the nearest hill. After they were speedily driven from this spot, they threw themselves among the standards and companies. They thus alarmed all the more the soldiers who were already frightened. Some proposed that they form a wedge and suddenly break through, inasmuch as the camp was so near, and, even if some part of them were surrounded and slain, they fully expected that at least the rest could be saved. Others argued that they should take their stand on a ridge, and all share the same fate. The veteran soldiers, who, as we mentioned, had set out together with the others under one standard, did not approve of this. Therefore, encouraging one another, they broke through the midst of the enemy, and, under the leadership of Gaius Trebonius, a Roman knight, who had been appointed over them, arrived in the camp safe to a man. The camp slaves and the cavalry followed close behind them with the same impetuosity, and were saved by the courage of the soldiers. Those, however, who had taken their stand on the ridge, were completely inexperienced in military matters. They could neither persevere in the resolution that they had approved, namely, to defend themselves from their higher position, nor imitate the vigor and speed, which they had observed to have availed others. Instead, attempting to reach the camp, they descended into an unfavorable situation. The centurions, some of whom had been promoted for their bravery from the lower ranks of other legions to higher ranks in this legion, in order that they would not forfeit the glory for military exploits that they had previously earned, fell together fighting most valiantly. The enemy were dislodged by the valor of the centurions, and some of the soldiers arrived safe in camp, contrary to their expectations; others perished, surrounded by the barbarians.

**CHAPTER 41: THE ROMANS IN CICERO'S CAMP ARE TERRIFIED UNTIL CAESAR RETURNS**

The Germans despaired of taking the camp by storm because they saw that our men had taken up their position on the fortifications. They then retreated beyond the Rhine with the plunder that they had deposited in the woods. So great was the panic that, even after the departure of the enemy, when Gaius Volusenus, who had been sent with the cavalry, arrived that night, he could not convince them that Caesar was close at hand with his army unhurt. Fear had so taken hold of everyone that they had

almost lost their minds, and claimed that all the other forces had been destroyed, that the cavalry alone had arrived there by flight, and that, if the army were safe, the Germans would not have attacked the camp. Caesar's arrival removed this terror.

#### **CHAPTER 42: CAESAR SCOLDS CICERO**

Caesar, on his return, inasmuch as he was well aware of the casualties of war, complained only of one thing, namely, that the cohorts had been sent away from the outposts and garrison duty. He also pointed out that no opportunity ought to have been left for even the most trivial casualty. Fortune had revealed its great power in the sudden arrival of their enemy—and much greater power in turning the barbarians away from the very rampart and gates of the camp! Of all these events, it seemed the most surprising that the Germans, who had crossed the Rhine in order to plunder the territories of Ambiorix, were induced to attack the camp of the Romans, thus rendering Ambiorix a most acceptable service.

#### **CHAPTER 43: CAESAR PURSUES THE EBURONES, BUT AMBIORIX ESCAPES**

Caesar once again marched to harass the enemy, and, after collecting a large number of auxiliaries from the neighboring states, dispatched them in all directions. All the villages and all the buildings, as far the eye could see, were on fire. Plunder was being driven off from all parts. Not only was the grain being consumed by such great numbers of cattle and men, but it had also fallen to the earth, owing to the time of the year and the storms. It thus appeared likely that, if any had concealed themselves for the present, they would surely perish through lack of all necessities, when the army withdrew. And, as so large a body of cavalry had been dispatched in all directions, it frequently occurred that the prisoners declared that they had just then seen Ambiorix in flight, and that he had not yet passed out of sight. This raised the hope of catching up with him, and inspired limitless exertions among those who thought they could thereby acquire the highest favor with Caesar. Their zeal almost surpassed the limits imposed by nature, and success continually seemed almost within reach. But Ambiorix rescued himself through hiding-places and forests, and, concealed by the night, he made for other districts and territories with no greater guard than that of four horsemen, to whom alone he dared to entrust his life.

**CHAPTER 44: CAESAR EXECUTES ACCO**

After he devastated the country in this manner, Caesar led back his army with the loss of two cohorts to Durocortorum, a city of the Remi. He summoned a council of Gaul to assemble at that place, and he resolved to hold an investigation into the conspiracy of the Senones and Carnutes. After he pronounced a very severe sentence upon Acco, who had been the leader of that plot, he punished him according to the custom of our ancestors: he was beaten to death with wooden clubs. Some, fearing a trial, fled. Caesar declared these men outlaws, forbidding them fire and water. He stationed in winter quarters two legions at the frontiers of the Treviri, two among the Lingones, the remaining six at Agedincum in the territories of the Senones; and, having provided grain for the army, Caesar set out for northern Italy, as he had decided to administer justice in his capacity as governor of the province.

## BOOK 7 [52 BCE]

*Caesar may call it a “conspiracy,” but the Gauls gather as a people, and select Vercingetorix as the leader of their united effort to drive the Romans, Roman camps, and Roman armies from Gallic territory. It is a war of liberation, and the Gauls fight desperately for freedom. Even Caesar recognizes this, and respects them as he fights to conquer them. The struggle culminates in the siege of a city called Alesia. Eventually, Alesia and Vercingetorix will submit to Caesar, and, at Rome, the Senate will decree another twenty days of prayers and sacrifices to the immortal gods in thanks for Caesar’s military successes.*

### CHAPTER 1: CAESAR BLAMES UNREST IN GAUL ON POLITICAL UNREST IN ROME

Gaul was tranquil. Caesar, as he had planned, set out for Italy to administer justice in his capacity as governor of the province. There he received news of the murder of the tribune Publius Clodius Pulcher, and he was informed of the decree of the Senate that required all the youth of Italy to take the military oath. He thus decided to hold a levy throughout the entire province of Cisalpine Gaul. Report of these events was rapidly conveyed into Transalpine Gaul. The Gauls themselves added to the report, and invented what seemed to fit the situation, namely, that Caesar was detained by political unrest in the City, and could not, amid such violent dissensions, come to his army. Inspired by this opportunity, those who already before this occurrence resented their reduction beneath the dominion of Rome, began to organize their plans for war more openly and daringly. The leading men of Gaul convened councils among themselves in the woods and secluded places. They complained of the death of Acco. They pointed out that this fate could fall in turn on themselves. They bewailed the unhappy fate of Gaul, and by every sort of promise and reward they earnestly solicited some to begin the war, and assert the freedom of Gaul at the risk of their lives. They said that special care should be paid to this: Caesar ought to be cut off from his army before their secret plans were divulged—this would be easy, however, because neither would the legions in the absence of their general dare to leave their winter quarters nor could the general reach his army without a guard—finally, it was better to be killed in battle than fail to recover their ancient glory in war and the freedom that they had inherited from their ancestors.



**CHAPTER 2: THE CARNUTES ARE THE FIRST TO REVOLT**

While such themes were feverishly discussed, the Carnutes declared that they would refuse no danger for the sake of their common welfare, and they promised that they would be the first of all the Gauls to begin the war. Because, however, they could not under present circumstances guarantee by exchanging hostages among themselves that the matter would not be divulged, the Carnutes demanded that the military standards be brought together (by this means they make their most sacred obligations binding), and that solemn assurance be given to them by oath and a pledge of sacred honor that the Carnutes would not be deserted by the rest of the Gauls, if they began the war. All who were present unanimously praised the Carnutes, swore the oath, and, after setting a date for the business, departed from the assembly.

**CHAPTER 3: THE CARNUTES MURDER LOCAL ROMAN CITIZENS**

When the appointed day came, the Carnutes, under the command of two reckless and violent men, Cotuatus and Conconnetodumnus, met together at Cenabum, and murdered the Roman citizens who had settled there for the purpose of trading (one of whom was Gaius Fusius Cita, a distinguished Roman of equestrian status, who by Caesar's orders had presided over the grain supply), and plundered their property. The report quickly spread among all the states of Gaul, for, whenever a more important and remarkable event takes place, they transmit the intelligence through their lands and districts by a shout, which others then take up in turn, and pass along to their neighbors. This is what happened on this occasion as well, inasmuch as news of the things that were done at Cenabum at sunrise was heard in the territories of the Arverni before the end of the first watch [about three hours after sunset], a distance of more than a hundred and sixty miles.

**CHAPTER 4: THE GAULS ELECT VERCINGETORIX AS THEIR LEADER**

There in a similar fashion, Vercingetorix summoned together his dependents, and easily inflamed their spirits. Vercingetorix was a young man of the greatest authority, the son of Celtillus the Arvernian (who had held the supremacy over all Gaul, and had been put to death by his fellow-citizens for this very reason: because he had aimed at sovereign power).

After they learned his plan, they rushed to arms. Vercingetorix was, however, expelled from the town of Gergovia by his uncle Gobannitio and the rest of the nobles who were of opinion that such an enterprise ought not to be risked. Vercingetorix nevertheless did not desist, but held in the country a levy among poverty-stricken and criminal outcasts. Having collected such a body of troops, he brought over to his point of view whatever fellow-citizens he was able to approach. He exhorted them to take up arms on behalf of their general freedom, and, having assembled large forces, he drove from the state his opponents, who had expelled him a short time previously. Vercingetorix was saluted king by his partisans. He sent ambassadors in every direction. He adjured them to adhere firmly to their promise. He quickly attached to his interests the Senones, Parisii, Pictones, Cadurci, Turones, Aulerci, Lemovices, Andi, and all the others who border on the ocean. The supreme command was conferred on him by unanimous consent. On obtaining this authority, he demanded hostages from all these states. He ordered a fixed number of soldiers to be sent to him immediately. He determined what quantity of arms each state should prepare at home, and by what time. He paid particular attention to the cavalry. To the utmost vigilance, he added the utmost rigor of authority, and by the severity of his punishments brought over those who were wavering. Any offenders who committed a more serious crime he put to death by fire and with every sort of torture. For a lesser offense, he sent home the perpetrators with their ears cut off or one of their eyes gouged out, in order to make them an example to the rest, and to frighten others by the severity of their punishment.

## **CHAPTER 5: THE BITURIGES JOIN THE REVOLT**

He quickly gathered an army through these punishments, and he sent Luciterius (a man the of utmost daring and one of the Cadurci) with part of his forces into the territory of the Ruteni. Vercingetorix himself marched in person into the country of the Bituriges. On his arrival, the Bituriges sent ambassadors to the Aedui, under whose protection they were, to solicit aid in order that they might more easily resist the forces of the enemy. The Aedui, following the advice of the lieutenants whom Caesar had left with the army, sent reinforcements of cavalry and infantry to support the Bituriges. After they came to the river Loire, which separates the Bituriges from the Aedui, they delayed there for a few days, and, not daring to cross the river, returned home, and sent back word to the lieutenants that they had returned because they feared the treachery of the Bituriges, who, as they

found out, had formed a plan to surround them, if the Aedui crossed the river (the Bituriges were on one side and the Arverni on the other). Whether the Aedui did this for the reason which they alleged to the lieutenants or influenced by treachery, we thought that we should not state openly because we had no proof. On their departure, the Bituriges immediately united themselves to the Arverni.

#### **CHAPTER 6: HOW WILL CAESAR GET TO HIS ARMY IN GAUL?**

These affairs were announced to Caesar in Italy at a time when he had learned that political matters in the City had been brought back to a more tranquil state by the efforts of Gnaeus Pompey. Caesar thus set out for Transalpine Gaul. After he had arrived there, he was at a great loss to know by what means he could reach his army. For, if he summoned the legions into the province, he was aware that during their march they would have to fight in his absence. He foresaw too that, if he himself attempted to reach the army, he would act without appropriate caution by entrusting his personal safety to Gallic tribes, even though they seemed pacified.

#### **CHAPTER 7: LUCTERIUS THREATENS THE ROMAN PROVINCE**

In the meantime, Lucterius the Cadurcan, having been sent into the country of the Ruteni, won over that state to the Arverni. He advanced into the country of the Nitiobriges and Gabali, received hostages from both nations, and, after assembling a numerous force, marched to make a descent on the Province in the direction of Narbo. Caesar, when this news was announced to him, thought that the march to Narbo ought to take precedence over all his other plans. When he arrived there, he encouraged the timid, and he stationed garrisons among the Ruteni in the province of the Volcae Arecomici and the country around Narbo, which was in the vicinity of the enemy. He ordered a portion of the forces from the Province and the recruits whom he had brought from Italy to rendezvous among the Helvii, who border on the territories of the Arverni.

#### **CHAPTER 8: CAESAR BLOCKS LUCTERIUS**

After these matters were arranged, Lucterius was checked, and forced to retreat, because he thought it was dangerous to enter the line of Roman fortifications. Caesar then marched into the country of the Helvii, although Mount Cevennes, which separates the Arverni from the Helvii, blocked the way with very deep snow, as it was the severest season of the

year. Nevertheless, after clearing away the snow to a depth of six feet and opening the roads, Caesar reached the territories of the Arverni thanks to the infinite labor of his soldiers. The Arverni were caught by surprise because they believed that Mount Cevennes defended them as if it were a wall (indeed, the paths at this season of the year had never before been passable even to individuals). Caesar ordered the cavalry to extend themselves as far as they could, and to strike as great a panic as possible into the enemy. These operations were speedily announced to Vercingetorix by rumor and his messengers. All the Arverni crowded around him in alarm, and solemnly entreated him to protect their property, and not to allow them to be plundered by the enemy, especially as he saw that the entire war had been transferred into their country. Vercingetorix was prevailed upon by their entreaties, and moved his camp from the country of the Bituriges in the direction of the Arverni.

#### **CHAPTER 9: CAESAR MANAGES TO RETURN TO HIS LEGIONS. VERCINGETORIX ATTACKS GORGOBINA.**

Caesar delayed for two days in that place because he anticipated that, in the natural course of events, Vercingetorix would react in such a way. Caesar subsequently left the army under the pretense of levying recruits and cavalry. He placed Brutus, a young man, in command of these forces. He gave him instructions that the cavalry should range as extensively as possible in all directions, and told him that he would himself try not to be absent from the camp longer than three days. After making these arrangements, he proceeded to Vienna by forced marches, and arrived before his own soldiers expected him. He found there a fresh body of cavalry, which he had sent ahead to that place several days earlier. Then, marching incessantly night and day, he advanced rapidly through the territory of the Aedui into that of the Lingones, where two legions were spending the winter, in order that, if any plot affecting his own safety had been organized by the Aedui, he might defeat it by the rapidity of his movements. When he arrived there, he sent word to the rest of the legions, and gathered all his army in one place before news of his arrival could be announced to the Arverni. Vercingetorix, on hearing this development, led back his army into the country of the Bituriges, and, after marching from there to Gorgobina (a town of the Boii, whom Caesar had settled there after defeating them in the Helvetian war, and had rendered tributary to the Aedui), determined to attack it.

**CHAPTER 10: CAESAR WORKS TO RETAIN ALLIES**

This action presented great difficulty for Caesar in the selection of his plans. He was afraid that, if he confined his legions in one place for the remaining portion of the winter, all Gaul would revolt when the tributaries of the Aedui were subdued because it would then appear that Caesar was unable to protect his friends. On the other hand, if he drew his troops too soon out of their winter quarters, he might be distressed by the lack of supplies as a result of difficulties in transporting them. It seemed better, however, to endure every hardship than to lose the affections of all his allies by submitting to such an insult. He therefore impressed on the Aedui the necessity of supplying him with provisions, he sent ahead messengers to the Boii to inform them of his arrival, and he encouraged them to remain firm in their allegiance, and to resist the attack of the enemy with great resolution. Having left two legions and the baggage of the entire army at Agedincum, he marched to the Boii.

**CHAPTER 11: CAESAR CAPTURES TWO TOWNS**

On the second day, when he came to Vellaunodunum, a town of the Senones, he determined to attack it, in order not to leave an enemy in his rear, and to procure supplies of provisions more easily, and to draw a line of circumvallation around it in two days. On the third day, ambassadors were sent from the town to negotiate a surrender. Caesar ordered them to collect their weapons, bring out their cattle, and give him six hundred hostages. He left his lieutenant Gaius Trebonius to complete these arrangements. He himself set out with the intention of marching as soon as possible to Genabum, a town of the Carnutes. The Carnutes had at that time for the first time received news of the siege of Vellaunodunum. Inasmuch as they thought that the siege would be protracted for a longer time, they were preparing a garrison to send to Genabum for the defense of that town. Caesar arrived here in two days. After pitching his camp before the town, being prevented by the time of the day, he deferred the attack to the next day, and ordered his soldiers to prepare whatever was necessary for that enterprise. And, as a bridge over the Loire connected the town of Genabum with the opposite bank, Caesar was afraid that the inhabitants might escape by night from the town, so he ordered two legions to keep watch under arms. The people of Genabum came forth silently from the city before midnight, and began to cross the river. When this circumstance was announced by scouts, Caesar set fire to the gates, sent in the legions, whom he had ordered to be ready, and

obtained possession of the town so completely that very few of the whole number of the enemy escaped being captured alive. Because the bridge and roads were narrow, the multitude was prevented from escaping. Caesar pillaged and burned the town, gave the booty of it to the soldiers, then led his army over the Loire, and marched into the territories of the Bituriges.

## **CHAPTER 12: CAESAR ATTACKS ANOTHER TOWN; VERCINGETORIX COMES TO THE AID OF THE TOWN**

Vercingetorix, when he learned about the arrival of Caesar, desisted from his siege, and marched to meet Caesar. Caesar had begun to besiege Noviodunum, and, when ambassadors came from this town to beg him to pardon them and spare their lives, he ordered them to collect their weapons, to bring out their horses, and to give him hostages. He did this in order to accomplish the rest of his plans with the same rapidity as he had accomplished most of them. When part of the hostages were already delivered up, the rest of the terms were being performed, and a few centurions and soldiers were sent into the town to collect the weapons and horses, the enemy's cavalry, who had outstripped the main body of Vercingetorix's army, was seen at a distance. As soon as the townspeople saw them, and formed hopes of assistance, they raised a shout, began to take up arms, shut the gates, and line the walls. When the centurions in the town realized from the Gauls' signals that they were forming some new plot, they drew their swords, seized the gates, and withdrew all their men safely.

## **CHAPTER 13: CAESAR CAPTURES THE TOWN**

Caesar ordered the horsemen to be led out of camp and began a cavalry action. Because his men were now distressed, Caesar sent to their aid about four hundred German cavalry, whom he had decided, at the outset, to keep with him. The Gauls could not withstand their attack, but were put to flight, and retreated to their main body after losing a great number of men. When they were routed, the townspeople, again intimidated, arrested those persons by whose exhortations they thought that the mob had been riled up, and they brought these instigators to Caesar, and surrendered themselves to him. After all this business was finished, Caesar marched to Avaricum (which was the largest and best fortified town in the territories of the Bituriges, and located in a most fertile tract of country) because he confidently expected that, after taking that town, he would reduce beneath his dominion the state of the Bituriges.

#### **CHAPTER 14: VERCINGETORIX ADVISES THE BITURIGES TO PURSUE A SCORCHED EARTH POLICY**

Vercingetorix, after sustaining so many losses in a row at Vellaunodunum, Genabum, and Noviodunum, summoned his men to a council. He impressed on them that the war had to be prosecuted on a very different system from the one they had previously adopted. They should instead by all means aim for the goal of preventing the Romans from foraging and procuring provisions. This was easy, he argued, because they themselves were well supplied with cavalry, and were likewise assisted by the season of the year. Forage could not be cut. The enemy would have to disperse, and look for it in the houses. The foragers could be destroyed every day by the cavalry. The interests of private property also had to be disregarded for the sake of the general safety. The villages and houses had to be burned over as much territory in every direction as the Romans appeared capable of scouring in their search for forage. An abundance of these necessities could be supplied to themselves, however, because they would be assisted by the resources of those in whose territories the war would be waged. The Romans would either not be able to bear the deprivation or else they would advance a greater distance from their camp with considerable danger. It also made no difference whether they killed the Romans or stripped them of their baggage, since, if the baggage was lost, the Romans could not carry on the war. In addition to this, the towns should be burned that were not secured against every danger by their fortifications or natural advantages. There should be no places of retreat for their own countrymen that would allow them to decline military service, nor should they allow any vulnerable towns to stand that might allow the Romans to carry off abundance of provisions and plunder. If these sacrifices appeared heavy or galling, they should consider it much more distressing that their wives and children could be dragged off to slavery, and themselves slain: these were the evils that would necessarily befall the conquered.

#### **CHAPTER 15: THE BITURIGES BURN THEIR TOWNS, BUT WANT TO DEFEND AVARICUM**

This opinion was approved of by unanimous consent. More than twenty towns of the Bituriges were burned in one day. Conflagrations were beheld in every quarter, and, although everyone bore this with great regret, yet they laid before themselves this consolation: as the victory was certain, they could quickly recover their losses. There was a debate concerning Avaricum

in the general council whether they should decide to burn or defend it. The Bituriges threw themselves at the feet of all the Gauls, and begged their countrymen not to compel them to set fire with their own hands to the most beautiful city of almost the whole of Gaul, which was both a protection and an ornament to the state. They insisted that they could easily defend it, owing to the nature of the ground. Because it was enclosed almost on every side by a river and a marsh, it had only one entrance, and that very narrow. Permission was granted to them at their earnest request. Vercingetorix had at first dissuaded them from it, but afterward conceded the point, owing to their entreaties and the compassion of the soldiers. A proper garrison was selected for the town.

#### **CHAPTER 16: VERCINGETORIX PITCHES HIS CAMP AT AVARICUM**

Vercingetorix followed closely upon Caesar by shorter marches, and selected for his camp a place defended by woods and marshes at a distance of fifteen miles from Avaricum. There he received intelligence from trusted scouts every hour in the day of what was going on at Avaricum, and ordered whatever he wished to be done. He closely watched all our expeditions for grain and forage, and whenever the foragers were compelled to go to a greater distance, he attacked them while they were dispersed, and inflicted severe losses upon them, although the evil was remedied by our men, as far as precautions could be taken, by going forth at irregular times and by different routes.

#### **CHAPTER 17: CAESAR BESIEGES AVARICUM**

Caesar pitched his camp on the side of the town that was not defended by the river and marsh, and had a very narrow approach (as we have mentioned). He began to employ protective sheds and to erect two towers, as the nature of the place prevented him from drawing a line of circumvallation. He never ceased to importune the Boii and Aedui for supplies of grain. The Aedui, because they were acting with no enthusiasm, did not aid him much. The Boii, as their resources were not great, quickly consumed what they had. The army was distressed by the severe scarcity of grain brought on by the poverty of the Boii and the apathy of the Aedui and the burning of the houses to such a degree that for several days the soldiers went without grain, and had to satisfy their extreme hunger with cattle driven from remote villages [Romans preferred bread to meat]. Nevertheless, no language



was heard from the men that was unworthy of the majesty of the Roman people and their former victories. Moreover, when Caesar addressed the legions individually while they were at work, and said that he would raise the siege, if they felt the scarcity too severely, they unanimously begged him not to do so, insisting that they had served for several years under his command without ever submitting to insult and never abandoning an enterprise before they accomplished it. They would consider it a disgrace if they abandoned the siege after commencing it. It was better to endure every hardship than not to avenge the names of the Roman citizens who perished at Genabum by the treachery of the Gauls. They entrusted the same declarations to the centurions and military tribunes, so that through their officers their sentiments might be communicated to Caesar.

#### **CHAPTER 18: VERCINGETORIX HARASSES CAESAR**

When the towers had now been moved toward the walls, Caesar learned from the captives that Vercingetorix, after destroying the forage, had pitched his camp closer to Avaricum, and that he himself with his cavalry and light-armed infantry (who generally fought among the cavalry) had gone to lay an ambush in the area where he thought that our troops would come the next day to forage. On learning these facts, Caesar set out from the camp secretly at midnight, and reached the camp of the enemy early in the morning. They quickly learned of the arrival of Caesar from scouts, hid their carts and baggage in the thickest parts of the woods, and drew up all their forces in a high and open space. After this circumstance was announced, Caesar immediately ordered the baggage to be piled, and the arms to be prepared.

#### **CHAPTER 19: CAESAR DECLINES TO FIGHT AN OPEN BATTLE**

There was a hill with a gentle ascent from its base. A dangerous and impassable marsh not more than fifty feet wide surrounded it on almost every side. The Gauls, having broken down the bridges, posted themselves on this hill, confident in their position, and drew up in tribes according to their respective states. They held all the fords and passages of that marsh with trusted guards, and were determined, if the Romans attempted to force their way through the marsh, to overpower the Romans from the higher ground while they were stuck in the marsh. Whoever saw the proximity of the position would imagine that the two armies were prepared to fight on almost equal terms, but whoever examined accurately the disadvantage

of position would discover that the enemy was showing off an empty pretense of courage. Caesar clearly pointed this out to his soldiers, who were indignant that the enemy could bear the sight of them at so short a distance, and were earnestly demanding the signal for action. Caesar explained with what great losses and the deaths of how many gallant men the victory would necessarily be purchased, and that, when he saw the soldiers so determined to decline no danger for his renown, he would have to be considered guilty of the utmost injustice, if he did not value their lives more than his personal safety. After he thus consoled his soldiers, he led them back on the same day to the camp, and determined to prepare the other things that were necessary for the siege of the town.

## **CHAPTER 20: THE GAULS BLAME VERGINGETORIX, WHO DEFENDS HIS STRATEGY**

Vercingetorix, when he had returned to his men, was accused of treason, because he had moved his camp closer to the Romans, because he had gone away with all the cavalry, because he had left such large forces without a commander, because, on his departure, the Romans had come at such a favorable time and with such dispatch; because all these circumstances could not have happened accidentally or without design; because he preferred holding the sovereignty of Gaul by the grant of Caesar to acquiring it by their favor. After he was accused in such a manner, he made the following reply to these charges: his moving his camp had been caused by the lack of forage, and had been done even by their advice. His approaching close to the Romans had been a measure dictated by the favorable nature of the ground, which would defend him by its natural strength. The service of the cavalry would not have been required in marshy ground, and was useful in that place where they had gone. He, on his departure, had given the supreme command to no one intentionally, for fear an interim leader would be induced by the eagerness of the multitude to risk an engagement, to which he, Vercingetorix, perceived that they all were inclined, owing to their lack of energy, because they were no longer able to endure the strain. If the Romans, in the meantime, had come up by chance, the Gauls should feel grateful to fortune. If the Romans, on the other hand, had been invited by some informer, they should feel grateful to the informer, because he had enabled them to see distinctly from the higher ground how small the number of their enemy was and to despise the courage of those who did not dare to fight, and had retreated disgracefully into their camp. He desired no power

from Caesar by treachery, since he could have it by victory, which was now assured to himself and to all the Gauls. Indeed, he would even give back to them the command, if they thought that they conferred honor on him, rather than that they received safety from him. "In order that you may be assured," he said, "that I speak these words with truth, listen to these Roman soldiers!" He then produced some camp-followers whom he had surprised on a foraging expedition some days before, and had tortured with famine and imprisonment. They had been previously instructed in what answers they should make when examined, and said that they were legionary soldiers, who, pressed by hunger and deprivation, had recently gone forth from the camp, to see whether they could find any grain or cattle in the fields, adding that the whole army was distressed by a similar scarcity. No one now had sufficient strength, nor could anyone bear the labor of the work. The general was therefore determined, if he made no progress in the siege, to withdraw his army in three days. "These benefits," Vercingetorix said, "you receive from me, whom you accuse of treason—me, by whose exertions you see so powerful and victorious an army almost destroyed by famine, without shedding one drop of your blood, and I have taken precautions that no state will admit within its territories this army in its ignominious flight from this place."

## **CHAPTER 21: THE GAULS RALLY AROUND VERCINGETORIX**

The whole multitude raised a shout and clashed their arms according to their custom, as they usually do when they approve someone's speech. They exclaimed that Vercingetorix was a consummate general, and that they had no doubt about his honor. The war could not be conducted with greater prudence. They determined that ten thousand men should be picked out of the entire army and sent into the town, and decided that the general safety should not be entrusted to the Bituriges alone, because they were aware that the glory of the victory would belong to the Bituriges, if they were able to defend the town on their own.

## **CHAPTER 22: THE SIEGE OF AVARICUM CONTINUES**

The Gauls used devices of every sort to oppose the extraordinary valor of our soldiers, for they are a nation of consummate ingenuity as well as most skillful in imitating and making the things that anyone has revealed to them. They therefore turned aside our grappling hooks with nooses, and, after they had caught hold of them firmly, they dragged them off by means of windlasses. They undermined our ramp all the more skillfully,

inasmuch as there are in their territories extensive iron mines. As a result, they practice and know every description of mining operations. They had built, moreover, turrets along the whole wall on every side, and had covered the turrets with animal skins. In addition to this, in their frequent sallies by day and night, they attempted either to set fire to the ramp, or attack our soldiers while they were engaged in building operations. Moreover, by splicing the upright timbers of their own towers, they equaled the height of our towers as quickly as our ramp had daily raised them, and, with stakes that were bent and sharpened at the ends, they impeded us from working on tunnels that had opened up, and, with boiling pitch and stones of very great weight, they prevented our men from approaching the walls.

### **CHAPTER 23: GALLIC WALLS**

The form of all the Gallic walls is generally as follows: straight beams, connected lengthwise and two feet distant from each other at equal intervals are placed together on the ground. These are fastened on the inside, and covered with plenty of earth. But the intervals that we have mentioned are closed up in front with large stones. After the beams and stones have thus been laid and cemented together, another row is added on top in such a manner that the same interval may be observed, and in order that the beams do not touch each another, but equal spaces intervene, and each row of beams is kept firmly in its place by a row of stones. In this manner, they consolidate the whole wall until the regular height of the wall has been completed. This work, with respect to appearance and variety, is not unsightly, owing to the alternate rows of beams and stones, which preserve their order in straight lines. Moreover, it possesses great advantages as regards utility and the defense of cities, for the stone protects it from fire, and the wood from the battering ram. Inasmuch as the wooden beams have been joined on the inside with rows of beams generally forty feet each in length, the wall can neither be broken through nor torn asunder.

### **CHAPTER 24: THE GAULS ATTEMPT A SORTIE**

The siege was thus impeded by so many disadvantages, but the soldiers, although they were slowed down the whole time by mud, cold, and constant showers, yet by their incessant labor overcame all these obstacles, and in twenty-five days raised a ramp three hundred and thirty feet wide and eighty feet high. When it almost touched the enemy's walls, Caesar, according to his usual custom, kept watch at the work, and encouraged the soldiers not to

discontinue the work for a moment. A little before the third watch [around midnight], they discovered that the ramp was smoking, since the enemy had set it on fire from a tunnel. At the same time, a shout was raised along the entire wall, and a sally was made from two gates on each side of the turrets. Some were at a distance casting torches and dry wood from the wall onto our tower. Others were pouring pitch on it as well as other materials that would feed the flame. As a result, a plan could hardly be formed as to where our men should first run to the defense or to what part aid should be brought. However, as two legions always kept guard by Caesar's orders before the camp, and several of them were at stated times to assist in the work, measures were promptly taken. Some of them opposed the sallying party while others drew back the towers and made a cut in the rampart. Moreover, the whole army hastened from the camp to extinguish the flames.

#### **CHAPTER 25: THE ROMANS REPEL THE GALLIC ATTACK**

While the battle was going on in every direction, the rest of the night had been spent, and fresh hopes of victory continually arose before the enemy, and all the more so because they saw that the coverings of our towers burned away, and they perceived that we were exposed, and could not easily go to give assistance. They themselves were continuously relieving those who were weary with fresh men, and were convinced that the entire safety of Gaul rested on this outcome of this crisis. There also happened, in my own view, a circumstance that appeared to be worthy of record, and we thought we should not omit it. In front of the town's gate, a certain Gaul was casting the balls of tallow and fire that were passed along to him into the fire in the vicinity of the tower. He was pierced with a dart on the right side and fell dead. One of those next to him in line stepped over him where he lay, and discharged the same duty. When the second man was killed in the same manner by a wound from a cross-bow, a third succeeded him, and a fourth succeeded the third. Nor was this post left vacant by the besieged until the fire of the ramp was extinguished, the enemy were repulsed in every direction, and an end was put to the fighting.

#### **CHAPTER 26: THE GAULS ATTEMPT A NOCTURNAL ESCAPE**

The Gauls had tried every expedient, but nothing had succeeded. They then adopted the plan of fleeing from the town the next day by the advice and order of Vercingetorix. They hoped that, by attempting to do so at the dead of night, they would accomplish it without any great loss of men, because the

camp of Vercingetorix was not far distant from the town, and the extensive marsh that intervened was likely to slow down the Romans in their pursuit. And they were in the midst of preparing to execute this plan by night when the matrons suddenly ran out into the streets, and weeping cast themselves at their husbands' feet. They begged their husbands not to abandon them and their common children to the enemy for punishment, inasmuch as the natural weakness of their physical powers prevented them from taking flight. When the wives realized that their husbands (as fear does not generally yield to mercy in extreme danger) persisted in their resolution, they began to shout out loud, and give intelligence of their husbands' flight to the Romans. The Gauls, who were intimidated by a fear that Romans would occupy the passes in advance, desisted from their design.

### **CHAPTER 27: CAESAR LAUNCHES AN ASSAULT ON AVARICUM**

The next day, when Caesar moved the tower forward, and the various works which he had arranged to build were complete, a violent storm arose. He thought that this was not a bad time for executing his designs because he observed that the guards mustered on the walls a little too negligently. He therefore ordered his own men to engage in their work more remissly, and pointed out what he wanted done. He drew up his soldiers in a secret position underneath a protective shed, and exhorted them to reap at last the harvest of victory proportionate to their exertions. He proposed a reward for those who would first scale the walls, and gave the signal to the soldiers. They suddenly flew out from all quarters and quickly filled the walls.

### **CHAPTER 28: THE ROMANS SLAUGHTER EVERYONE**

Alarmed by the suddenness of the attack, the enemy were dislodged from the wall and towers, and drew up in the form of a wedge in the market place and the open streets with the intention that, if an attack were made on any side, they would fight with their line drawn up to receive it. When they saw no one descending to the level ground, and the enemy extending themselves along the entire wall in every direction, they were afraid that every hope of flight would be cut off, so they cast away their weapons, and sought, without stopping, the most remote parts of the town. Some of them were then slain by the infantry as they crowded upon one another in the narrow passage of the gates. Some of them, having made it outside the gates, were cut to pieces by the cavalry. Nor was there anyone who was

eager for plunder. Thus, incited by the massacre at Genabum and exasperated by the siege, they spared neither old men, women, or children. In the end, out of a number that amounted to about forty thousand, scarcely eight hundred who fled from the town when they heard the first alarm reached Vercingetorix in safety. And, as the night was now far spent, he received them in silence after their flight. And, fearing that a sedition might arise in the camp as a result of their entrance in a group and from the pity of the soldiers for their plight, he stationed his friends and the chiefs of the states on the road at a distance from his camp, and took precautions to ensure that the refugees would be separated, and conducted to their fellow countrymen in whatever part of the camp had been assigned to each state from the beginning.

### **CHAPTER 29: VERCINGETORIX ADDRESSES THE GAULS**

Vercingetorix convened an assembly on the following day. He consoled, and encouraged his soldiers, telling them that they should not be too much depressed in spirit, nor alarmed at their loss, as the Romans did not conquer by valor nor in the field, but by a kind of art and skill in assault with which they themselves were unacquainted. Whoever expected every event in the war to be favorable, erred. It was never his opinion that Avaricum should be defended, and he now had themselves as witnesses of the truth of his opinion. It was owing, however, to the imprudence of the Bituriges, and the too ready compliance of the rest, that this loss occurred. He, however, would soon compensate for it by superior advantages, inasmuch as he would, by his efforts, bring over those states that severed themselves from the rest of the Gauls, and he would create a general unanimity throughout the whole of Gaul, the union of which not even the whole earth could resist. He had already almost accomplished this task. In the meantime, it was reasonable that he should prevail on them, for the sake of the general safety, to begin to fortify their camp, in order that they might more easily withstand the sudden attacks of the enemy.

### **CHAPTER 30: THE GAULS RALLY**

This speech was not disagreeable to the Gauls, principally because he himself was not disheartened by receiving so severe a loss, and had not concealed himself, nor shunned the eyes of the people. He was also believed to possess greater foresight and sounder judgment than the rest, because, when the affair was undecided, he had at first been of opinion that



Avaricum should be burned, and afterward that it should be abandoned. Accordingly, just as ill success weakens the authority of other generals, so, on the contrary, his dignity increased daily, even though they suffered a loss. At the same time, they began to entertain hopes, on his assertion, of uniting the rest of the states to themselves, and, on this occasion, for the first time, the Gauls began to fortify their camps, and were so alarmed that, although they were men unaccustomed to hard work, yet they were of the opinion that they ought to endure and put up with everything that was imposed upon them.

### **CHAPTER 31: VERCINGETORIX RECRUITS NEW ALLIES AND TROOPS**

Nor did Vercingetorix use less effort than he had promised to gain over the other states, and, as a result, worked to entice their leaders by gifts and promises. For this purpose, he selected fitting emissaries, by whose subtle pleading or private friendship, each of the nobles could be most easily influenced. He took care that those who fled to him on the storming of Avaricum should be provided with weapons and clothes. At the same time, in order that his diminished forces should be reinforced, he levied a fixed quota of soldiers from each state, and defined the number and day before which he wished them brought to the camp, and he ordered all the archers, of whom there was a very great number in Gaul, to be collected and sent to him. By these means, the troops who were lost at Avaricum were speedily replaced. In the meantime, Teutomatus, the son of Ollovico, the king of the Nitiobriges, whose father had received the appellation of friend from the Roman Senate, came to him with a great number of his own cavalry and those whom he had hired from Aquitania.

### **CHAPTER 32: CAESAR LEARNS ABOUT POLITICAL TURMOIL AMONG THE AEDUI**

Caesar, after delaying several days at Avaricum, and, finding there the greatest plenty of grain and other provisions, refreshed his army after their fatigue and deprivation. The winter was almost over, and he was invited by the favorable season of the year to prosecute the war and march against the enemy, and to try whether he could draw them from the marshes and woods, or else press them with a blockade. Some nobles of the Aedui came to him as ambassadors to request urgently that Caesar assist their state in an extreme emergency: their affairs were in the utmost danger, they alleged,



because, whereas single magistrates had usually been appointed in ancient times, and had held the power of a king for a single year, two persons now exercised this office, and each asserted that he was appointed according to their laws. One of them was Convictolitavis, a powerful and illustrious youth; the other Cotus, sprung from a most ancient family, and personally a man of very great influence and extensive connections. His brother Valletiacus had held the same office during the previous year. The whole state was up in arms, their senate divided, the people divided. Each of them had his own adherents, and, if the animosity were fomented any longer, the result would be that one part of the state would come to a collision with the other. It depended (they concluded their argument) on Caesar's active engagement and influence to prevent this.

### **CHAPTER 33: CAESAR SETTLES POLITICAL AFFAIRS AMONG THE AEDUI**

Although Caesar considered it ruinous to leave the war and the enemy, yet, he was well aware what great evils generally arise from internal dissensions, and was afraid that a state so powerful and so closely connected with the Roman people, a state which he himself had always fostered and honored in every respect, might have recourse to violence and arms, and that the party that had less confidence in its own power might summon aid from Vercingetorix. Caesar decided to anticipate this development, and because the laws of the Aedui did not permit those who held supreme authority to leave the country, he determined to go in person to the Aedui in order not to appear to infringe upon their government and laws, and he summoned all the senate and those involved in the dispute to meet him at Decetia. When almost all the state had assembled there, and he was informed that one brother had been declared magistrate by the other when only a few persons were privately summoned for that purpose at a different time and place from what he ought to have arranged, whereas the laws not only forbade two who belonged to one family to be elected magistrates while each was alive, but even deterred them from being in the senate at the same time, he compelled Cotus to resign his office. He ordered Convictolitavis, who had been elected by the priests according to the usage of the state after a disruption in the normal succession of magistrates, to hold the supreme authority.

**CHAPTER 34: CAESAR RECRUITS TROOPS FROM THE AEDUI, SENDS LABIENUS AGAINST THE SENONES AND PARISII, AND SETS OUT HIMSELF AGAINST GERGOVIA**

Having pronounced this decree between the contending parties, he exhorted the Aedui to bury in oblivion their disputes and dissensions, and, laying aside all these things, devote themselves to the war, and expect from him, on the conquest of Gaul, those rewards which they should have earned, and send speedily to him all their cavalry and ten thousand infantry, which he might place in different garrisons to protect his convoys of provisions. He then divided his army into two parts: he gave Labienus four legions to lead into the country of the Senones and Parisii; and led in person six into the country of the Arverni, in the direction of the town of Gergovia, along the banks of the Allier. He gave part of the cavalry to Labienus and kept part to himself. Vercingetorix, on learning this circumstance, broke down all the bridges over the river and began to march on the other bank of the Allier.

**CHAPTER 35: VERCINGETORIX FOLLOWS CAESAR'S MARCH**

When each army was in sight of the other, and was pitching their camp almost opposite each other, enemy scouts were distributed in every quarter to prevent the Romans from building a bridge and bringing over their troops. This was to Caesar a matter attended with great difficulties: he risked being prevented from crossing the river for most of the summer, as the Allier cannot generally be forded before autumn. Therefore, in order to prevent this from happening, he pitched his camp in a woody place opposite to one of the bridges that Vercingetorix had taken care to have broken down. The next day, Caesar stayed behind with two legions in a secret place. He sent ahead the rest of the forces as usual with all the baggage after having selected some cohorts, so that the number of the legions would appear to be complete. He ordered these men to advance as far as they could. When, from the time of day, he then conjectured that they had secured a camp, he began to rebuild the bridge on the same piles, the lower part of which remained intact. He quickly finished the work, and led his legions across the river, selected a fit place for a camp, and recalled the rest of his troops. Vercingetorix, on learning this fact, moved ahead of Caesar by forced marches, in order not to be compelled to engage in battle against his will.

**CHAPTER 36: CAESAR ARRIVES AT GERGOVIA**

Caesar, in a march of five days, went from that place to Gergovia. After engaging in a slight cavalry skirmish that day, he reviewed the situation of the city, which, because it was built on a very high mountain, was very difficult of access. Caesar despaired of taking the city by storm, and determined to take no steps toward besieging it until he could secure a supply of provisions. But Vercingetorix pitched his camp on the mountain near the town, placed the forces of each state separately and at small intervals around himself, and occupied all the hills of that range as far as they commanded a view of the Roman encampment. Vercingetorix presented a formidable appearance. He ordered the rulers of the states, whom he had selected as his council of war, to come to him daily at dawn to discuss whether any measure seemed to require deliberation or execution. Nor did he allow almost any day to pass without testing in a cavalry action (he sent the archers along with them) what spirit and valor there was in each of his own men. There was a hill opposite the town at the very foot of that mountain, which was strongly fortified and precipitous on every side. (And, if our men could win this hill, it seemed likely that they would be able to block the enemy from a large portion of their supply of water as well as easy foraging. The enemy occupied this place, however, with a weak garrison.) Caesar set out from the camp in the dead of night, and, dislodging the garrison before help could come from the town, he got possession of the place. He posted two legions there, and dug from the larger camp to the smaller camp a double trench twelve feet wide, in order that the soldiers could even individually cross over safe from any sudden attack of the enemy.

**CHAPTER 37: CONSPIRACY AMONG CAESAR'S AEDUAN ALLIES**

While these affairs were going on at Gergovia, Convictolitavis, the Aeduan, to whom (as we have observed) the magistracy was adjudged by Caesar, was bribed by the Arverni. He held a conference with certain young men, the chief of whom were Litaviccus and his brothers, who had been born of a most noble family. Convictolitavis shared the bribe with them, and exhorted them to remember that they were free and born for empire, that the state of the Aedui was the only one that was slowing down the most certain victory of the Gauls. The rest of the Gauls, he alleged, were held in check by its authority, and, if the Aedui joined the cause, the Romans would have no room to stand on in Gaul. Yes, he had received some kindness from Caesar, but only inasmuch as he won a most just case by Caesar's

decision. Even so, Convictolitavis gave more weight to the general freedom of all Gaul, for why should the Aedui go to Caesar to judge concerning their rights and laws rather than the Romans come to the Aedui? The young men were easily won over by the speech of the magistrate and the bribe. After they declared that they would even be leaders in the plot, a plan for accomplishing it was considered, because they were confident their state could not be induced to undertake the war on slight pretexts. It was resolved that Litaviccus should have the command of the ten thousand men who were being sent to Caesar for the war. He should have charge of them on their march, and his brothers should go ahead of him to Caesar. They also arranged whatever other measures were required as well as the manner in which everything should be done.

### **CHAPTER 38: LITAVICCUS PERSUADES CAESAR'S AEDUAN TROOPS TO SWITCH SIDES**

Litaviccus, after he received the command of the army, suddenly called the soldiers to an assembly when he was about thirty miles distant from Gergovia, and, weeping, said, "Soldiers, where are we going? All our cavalry and all our nobles have perished. Eporedorix and Viridomarus, the chief men of our state, being accused of treason, have been executed by the Romans without any permission to defend themselves in court. You may learn the details from those who have escaped the massacre, for I, inasmuch as my brothers and all my relations have been killed, am prevented by grief from declaring what has taken place." Persons were brought forward, whom he had instructed in what he wanted them to say, and in order to make the same statements to the soldiery as Litaviccus had made: namely, that all the cavalry of the Aedui were slain because they were alleged to have held conferences with the Arverni; that they had concealed themselves among the multitude of soldiers, and had escaped from the midst of the slaughter. The Aedui shout aloud and beseech Litaviccus to provide for their safety. "As if," said he, "it were a matter of deliberation, and not of necessity, for us to go to Gergovia and unite ourselves to the Arverni! Or have we any reasons to doubt that the Romans, after perpetrating this atrocity, are now hastening to slaughter us? Therefore, if there be any spirit in us, let us avenge the deaths of those who have perished in a most unworthy manner, and let us slay these robbers!" He pointed to the Roman citizens who had accompanied them in reliance on his protection. He immediately seized a great quantity of grain and

provisions, cruelly tortured them, and then put them to death, sending messengers throughout the entire state of the Aedui, and roused them completely by the same lie concerning the slaughter of their cavalry and nobles. He earnestly advised them to avenge, in the same manner as he did, the injustices that they had suffered.

### **CHAPTER 39: EPOREDORIX INFORMS CAESAR OF LITAVICCU'S PLOT**

Eporedorix, the Aeduan, a young man born in the highest rank and possessing very great influence at home, and, along with Viridomarus, of equal age and influence, but of inferior birth (Caesar had raised him from a humble position to the highest rank after he had been recommended to him by Divitiacus), had come in the number of cavalry after Caesar had summoned them by name. These men had a dispute with each other for precedence. And, in the struggle between the magistrates, they had contended with their utmost efforts on opposite sides: the one for Convictolitavis, the other for Cotus. Of these two, Eporedorix, on learning the plot of Litaviccus, laid the matter before Caesar almost at midnight. He entreated Caesar not to permit their state to swerve from their alliance with the Roman people, owing to the depraved counsels of a few young men. He foresaw what would be the result, if so many thousands of men should unite themselves to the enemy, inasmuch as their relatives could not neglect their safety nor the state regard it as a matter of little importance.

### **CHAPTER 40: CAESAR RUSHES TO RESTORE DISCIPLINE AMONG THE AEDUAN TROOPS, AND LITAVICCU ESCAPES TO GERGOVIA**

Caesar felt great anxiety about this intelligence, as he had always especially favored the state of the Aedui. Without any hesitation, he drew out from the camp four light-armed legions and all the cavalry. Nor had he time at such a crisis to contract the camp because the affair seemed to depend upon speed. He left Gaius Fabius, his lieutenant, with two legions to guard the camp. When he ordered the brothers of Litaviccus to be arrested, he discovered that they had fled a short time before to the camp of the enemy. He encouraged his soldiers not to be disheartened by the labor of the journey on such a crucial occasion. All were most eager, and, after advancing twenty-five miles, he came in sight of the army of the Aedui. By sending in his cavalry, Caesar slowed and impeded their march. He then issued

strict orders to all his soldiers to kill no one. He commanded Eporedorix and Viridomarus, who the Aedui thought had been killed, to move among the cavalry and address their friends. When they were recognized and the treachery of Litaviccus discovered, the Aedui began to extend their hands to indicate submission, and, laying down their arms, to beg that they be spared the death penalty. Litaviccus, along with his clansmen, who, according to the custom of the Gauls, consider it a crime to desert their patrons even in extreme misfortune, fled to Gergovia.

#### **CHAPTER 41: CAESAR RETURNS TO HIS TROOPS AT GERGOVIA**

Caesar sent messengers to the state of the Aedui to inform them that he had spared through his kindness those whom he could have put to death by the right of war, and, after giving three hours of the night to his army for repose, directed his march to Gergovia. Almost in the middle of the journey, a party of cavalry who had been sent by Fabius stated in what great danger matters were. They informed him that the camp had been attacked by a very powerful army whose numbers allowed fresh men frequently to relieve the wearied, and thus exhaust our soldiers by incessant toil, inasmuch as, on account of the size of the camp, they had constantly to remain on the rampart. Many had been wounded by the immense number of arrows and all kinds of missiles. The artillery was of great service in resisting their attacks. Fabius, at their departure, left only two gates open, was blocking up the rest, and was adding parapets to the ramparts, and was preparing himself for similar events on the following day. Caesar, after receiving this information, reached the camp before sunrise owing to the very great zeal of his soldiers.

#### **CHAPTER 42: THE AEDUI BACK HOME MEANWHILE ATTACK LOCAL ROMAN CITIZENS**

While these things were going on at Gergovia, the Aedui, on receiving the first announcements from Litaviccus, left themselves no time to ascertain the truth of those statements. Some were stimulated by avarice, others by revenge and credulity, which is an inborn character trait in that nation to such a degree that they consider a slight rumor as an ascertained fact. They plundered the property of the Roman citizens, and either massacred them or dragged them away to slavery. Convictolitavis increased the evil state of affairs, and goaded on the people to fury, in order that, after committing an

outrageous crime, they would be too ashamed to return to proper behavior. By a promise of safety, they lured from the town of Cabillonus, Marcus Aristius, a military tribune, who was on his march to his legion. They compelled those who had settled there for the purpose of trading to do the same. By constantly attacking them on their march, they stripped them of all their baggage. They besieged day and night all who resisted. After many had been killed on both sides, they excited a great number to armed rebellion.

#### **CHAPTER 43: AFTER THE AEDUI REALIZE THAT LITAVICCU'S PLOT WAS FOILED, THEY ATTEMPT TO MAKE AMENDS— CAESAR NEEDS ALLIES, SO HE FORGIVES THEM**

In the meantime, when intelligence was brought that all their soldiers were in Caesar's power, they ran in a body to Aristius. They assured Caesar that nothing that had taken place had been done by public authority. They ordered an inquiry to be made about the plundered property. They confiscated the property of Litaviccus and his brothers. They sent ambassadors to Caesar for the purpose of clearing themselves. They did all this with a view to recover their soldiers. Because, however, they were contaminated by guilt and seduced by the gains derived from the plundered property, and, inasmuch as that crime was shared by many, and because they were tempted by the fear of punishment, they began to form plans of war and to stir up the other states by messengers. Although Caesar was aware of this proceeding, yet he addressed the ambassadors with as much mildness as he could, indicating that he did not think worse of the state on account of the ignorance and fickleness of the mob; nor would he diminish his regard for the Aedui. Caesar himself feared a greater commotion in Gaul. In order to prevent his being surrounded by all the states, he began to form plans as to the manner in which he could return from Gergovia and again concentrate his forces (he was worried that a departure arising from his fear of a revolt would seem like a flight).

#### **CHAPTER 44: CAESAR SPOTS A WEAKNESS IN GERGOVIA'S DEFENSES**

While he was considering these things, an opportunity for success seemed to offer itself. For, after he had arrived in the smaller camp for the purpose of inspecting the works, he noticed that the hill occupied by the enemy had been stripped of men, although, on the former days, it could scarcely

be seen on account of the number of men on it. Caesar was astonished. He inquired the reason for it from the deserters, a great number of whom flocked to him daily. They all concurred in asserting what Caesar himself had already ascertained by his scouts. The back of that hill was almost level, but likewise woody and narrow, and it offered a path to the other side of the town. They had serious apprehensions about this place, and had concluded that, because the Romans had occupied one of the hills, if they were subsequently to lose the other, they would be almost surrounded, and cut off from all egress and foraging. Everyone had therefore been summoned by Vercingetorix to fortify this place.

#### **CHAPTER 45: CAESAR DEVISES A TRAP**

Caesar, after he was informed of this circumstance, sent several troops of cavalry to the place immediately after midnight. He ordered them to range in every quarter with more tumult than usual. At dawn he ordered a large quantity of baggage to be dragged out of the camp, and the muleteers with helmets in the appearance and guise of horsemen to ride round the hills. To these he added a few cavalry with instructions to range more widely in order to make a show. He ordered them all to seek the same quarter by a long circuit. These proceedings were seen at a distance from the town, as Gergovia commanded a view of the camp. Nor could the Gauls ascertain at so great a distance what the point was of the maneuver. He sent one legion to the same hill, and, after it had marched a little, stationed it in the lower ground, and concealed it in the woods. The suspicions of the Gauls were increased, and all their forces were marched to that place to defend it. Caesar then perceived the camp of the enemy deserted, covered the military insignia of his men, concealed the standards, and transferred his soldiers in small groups from the larger to the smaller camp. He pointed out to the lieutenants whom he had placed in command over the respective legions what he wanted them to do. He particularly advised them to restrain their men from advancing too far through their desire of fighting or their hope of plunder. He set before them what disadvantages the unfavorable nature of the ground carried with it, and that they could be assisted by speed alone. Success depended on a surprise, and not on a battle. After stating these particulars, he gave the signal for action, and sent the Aedui at the same time by another ascent on the right.



**CHAPTER 46: CAESAR PUTS HIS PLAN INTO ACTION**

The town wall was 1200 paces distant from the plain and base of the ascent in a straight line, if no gap intervened. Whatever detour was added to this ascent, in order to make the hill easy, increased the length of the route. But almost in the middle of the hill, the Gauls had previously built a wall six feet high made of large stones and extending in length as far as the nature of the ground permitted as a barrier to retard the advance of our men. And, leaving all the lower space empty, they had filled the upper part of the hill, as far as the wall of the town, with their camps very close to one another. The soldiers, after the signal was given, quickly advanced to this fortification, and, passing over it, made themselves masters of the separate camps. And so great was their speed in taking the camps that Teutomatus, the king of the Nitiobriges was suddenly surprised in his tent, as he had gone to nap at noon. He escaped with difficulty from the hands of the plunderers with the upper part of his person naked, and his horse wounded.

**CHAPTER 47: CAESAR ORDERS THE TROOPS TO RETREAT, BUT THEY CONTINUE TO ADVANCE TO THE WALLS OF GERGOVIA**

Caesar, after accomplishing the goal that he had set, ordered the signal to be sounded for a retreat. The soldiers of the tenth legion, by which he was then accompanied, halted. But the soldiers of the other legions did not hear the sound of the trumpet because there was a very large valley between them. They were, however, ordered back by the tribunes of the soldiers and the lieutenants, in accordance with Caesar's instructions. But, excited by the prospect of speedy victory and the flight of the enemy and the favorable battles of former days, they thought nothing so difficult that their bravery could not accomplish it. Nor did they put an end to the pursuit until they drew close to the wall of the town and the gates. But then, when a shout arose in every quarter of the city, those who were at a distance, because they were alarmed by the sudden tumult, fled hastily from the town, inasmuch as they thought that the enemy were within the gates. The matrons began to cast their clothes and silver over the wall, and, bending over as far as the lower part of their naked bosom, with outstretched hands begged the Romans to spare them, and not to slaughter even women and children, as they had done at Avaricum. Some of them let themselves down from the walls by their hands, and surrendered to our soldiers. Lucius Fabius a centurion of the eighth legion—who (it was

later determined) had said that day among his fellow soldiers that he was excited by the plunder of Avaricum, and would not allow anyone to mount the wall before him—found three men of his own company to raise him up, so he could scale the wall. He himself in turn took hold of them one by one, and drew them up to the wall.

#### **CHAPTER 48: THE GAULS RALLY TO DEFEND GERGOVIA**

In the meantime, those who had gone to the other part of the town to defend it (as we mentioned above) were at first aroused by hearing the shouts and afterward by frequent reports that the town was in possession of the Romans. They sent out their cavalry, and hastened in larger numbers to that area. When each first arrived, he stood beneath the wall, and increased the number of his countrymen engaged in action. After a great multitude of them had assembled, the matrons, who a little before were stretching their hands from the walls to the Romans, began to beseech their countrymen, and, after the Gallic fashion, to show their disheveled hair, and bring their children into public view. Neither in position nor in numbers was the contest an equal one for the Romans. At the same time, because they were exhausted from running and the long continuation of the fight, they could not easily withstand fresh and vigorous troops.

#### **CHAPTER 49: CAESAR SENDS REINFORCEMENTS**

Caesar, when he perceived that his soldiers were fighting on unfavorable ground, and that the enemy's forces were increasing, was alarmed for the safety of his troops. He sent orders to Titus Sextius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had left to guard the smaller camp, to lead out his cohorts quickly from the camp, and post them at the base of the hill on the right wing of the enemy, and, if he saw our men driven from the position, he was to deter the enemy from following too closely. Caesar himself, advancing with the legion a little from that place where he had taken his post, awaited the outcome of the battle.

#### **CHAPTER 50: THE ROMANS ARE BEATEN BACK FROM THE WALLS OF GERGOVIA**

The fight was going on most vigorously hand to hand. The enemy depended on their position and numbers; our men on their bravery. Suddenly in the midst of this, the Aedui appeared on our exposed flank, as Caesar had sent them by another approach on the right for the sake of creating a diversion.

These Aedui from the similarity of their arms to the other Gauls greatly terrified our men. And, although they were discovered to have their right shoulders bare, which was the customary and agreed on sign, yet the soldiers suspected that the enemy did this very thing to deceive them. At the same time, Lucius Fabius the centurion, and those who had scaled the wall with him, were surrounded, slain, and cast from the wall. Marcus Petreius, a centurion of the same legion, after attempting to hew down the gates, was overpowered by numbers. Despairing of his safety, and already grievously wounded, Petreius said to the soldiers of his own company who followed him: "Since I cannot save you as well as myself, I shall at least provide for your safety, since I, allured by the love of glory, led you into this danger. Save yourselves when an opportunity is given!" At the same moment, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, and, killing two of them, drove back the rest a little from the gate. When his men attempted to help him, "In vain," he said, "you try to bring me to safety, since blood and strength are now failing me. Therefore stop doing this, while you have the opportunity, and retreat to the legion!" Thus he fell fighting a few moments later, and saved his men by his own death.

### **CHAPTER 51: THE ROMANS SUFFER HEAVY LOSSES**

Our soldiers were hard pressed on every side, and were dislodged from their position with the loss of forty-six centurions. But the tenth legion, which had been posted in reserve on ground a little more level, checked the Gauls in their eager pursuit. They were supported by the cohorts of the thirteenth legion, which had been led from the smaller camp, and which had, under the command of Titus Sextius, occupied the higher ground. The legions, as soon as they reached the plain, halted, and faced the enemy. Vercingetorix led back his men from the part of the hill within the fortifications. On that day, a little less than seven hundred of the soldiers were missing.

### **CHAPTER 52: CAESAR SCOLDS THE TROOPS**

On the next day, Caesar called a meeting, and scolded the rashness and avarice of his soldiers: they had decided for themselves how far they ought to proceed or what they ought to do, and they could not be kept back by the tribunes of the soldiers and the lieutenants. Caesar explained what the disadvantage of the ground could bring about, what opinion he himself had entertained at Avaricum, when, although he had surprised the enemy

without either general or cavalry, he gave up a certain victory, lest even a trifling loss should occur in the battle, owing to the disadvantage of position. As much as he admired the greatness of their courage, since neither the fortifications of the camp, nor the height of the mountain, nor the wall of the town could slow them, nevertheless, in the same degree, he blamed their disobedience and arrogance, because they thought that they knew more than their general concerning victory, and the outcome of events. Caesar required in his soldiers self-restraint and self-discipline no less than valor and courage.



This 1903 monument celebrates the victory of the Gauls over the Romans in the battle of Gergovia. It stands on the Plateau de Gergovie near Puy de Dôme, France—a site traditionally associated with the battle. Note the Gallic helmet which crowns the monument.

**CHAPTER 53: CAESAR ABANDONS THE SIEGE OF GERGOVIA**

After delivering these rebukes, Caesar encouraged the soldiers at the conclusion of his speech. They should not be dispirited on this account nor attribute to the valor of the enemy what the disadvantage of position had caused. Entertaining the same views of his departure that he had previously held, he led forth the legions from the camp, and drew up his army in order of battle in a suitable place. When Vercingetorix, nevertheless, would not descend to the level ground, a slight cavalry action, and that a successful one, took place. Caesar then led back his army into the camp. After he had done this, the next day, thinking that he had done enough to lower the pride of the Gauls and to encourage the minds of his soldiers, he moved his camp in the direction of the Aedui. The enemy did not even then pursue us, and, on the third day, Caesar repaired the bridge over the river Allier, and led over his whole army.

**CHAPTER 54: MORE TROUBLE WITH THE AEDUI**

Caesar then held an interview with Viridomarus and Eporedorix the Aeduans, learning that Litaviccus had set out with all the cavalry to rouse the Aedui. Caesar told them that it was necessary that they too should go ahead of him to confirm the state in their allegiance to Caesar. Although he now saw distinctly the treachery of the Aedui in many things, and was of the opinion that the revolt of the entire state would be hastened by their departure, yet he thought that they should not be detained, lest he should appear either to offer an insult or betray some suspicion of fear. Caesar briefly reminded them at their departure of his services toward the Aedui: in what a state and how humbled he had found them, driven into their towns, deprived of their lands, stripped of all their forces, a tribute imposed on them, and hostages wrested from them with the utmost insult; and to what condition and to what greatness he, Caesar, had raised the Aedui. So much so, in fact, that they had not only recovered their former position, but seemed to surpass the dignity and influence of all the previous eras of their history. After giving these admonitions, Caesar dismissed them.

**CHAPTER 55: THE AEDUI REVOLT**

Noviodunum was a town of the Aedui advantageously situated on the banks of the Loire. Caesar had conveyed to that place all the hostages of Gaul, the grain, public money, a great part of his own equipment and that of his army. Caesar had sent to that place a great number of horses, which he

had purchased in Italy and Spain on account of this war. When Eporedorix and Viridomarus came to this place, they received information about the current situation in the state. Litaviccus had been admitted by the Aedui into Bibracte, which is a town of the greatest importance among them. Convictolitavis, the chief magistrate, and a great part of the senate had gone to meet him. Ambassadors had been publicly sent to Vercingetorix to negotiate a peace and alliance. They thought that so great an opportunity ought not to be neglected. Therefore, they put to the sword the troops of the garrison at Noviodunum as well as those who had gathered there for the purpose of trading or were on their march. They divided the money and horses among themselves. They took care that the hostages of the different states should be brought to Bibracte and to the chief magistrate. They burned the town to prevent its being of any service to the Romans, as they were of the opinion that they could not hold it. They carried away in their vessels whatever grain they could in a hurry, and they destroyed the remainder by throwing it into the river or setting it on fire. They themselves began to collect forces from the neighboring country, to place guards and garrisons in different positions along the banks of the Loire, and to display the cavalry on all sides, in order to strike terror into the Romans, if they could cut them off from a supply of provisions. They were much aided in this hope from the circumstance that the Loire had swollen to such a degree from the melting of the snows that it did not seem capable of being forded at all.

### **CHAPTER 56 : CAESAR AND HIS ARMY ESCAPE**

When Caesar was informed of these movements, he was of opinion that he ought to make haste, even if he ran some risk in completing the bridges, in order to fight a decisive battle before greater forces of the enemy could be collected in that place. Even then, no one considered it absolutely necessary that he modify his plans, and direct his march into the Province, both because of the infamy and disgrace of such a thing and because the intervening Mount Cevennes and the difficulty of the roads prevented him from doing so. Moreover, Caesar had especially serious apprehensions for the safety of Labienus, whom he had detached, as well as for those legions, whom he had sent along with Labienus. Therefore, Caesar made very long marches by day and night, and came to the river Loire, contrary to the expectation of all. By means of the cavalry, he then found a ford suitable enough, considering the emergency, that was of such depth that their arms and shoulders could be above water for supporting their equipment. Caesar stationed his cavalry at intervals, in order to break the force of the river's

current, and led his army across the river in safety, having confused the enemy when they first caught sight of his army. Caesar found grain and cattle in the fields, and, after refreshing his army with these, he determined to march into the country of the Senones.

#### **CHAPTER 57: LABIENUS ON THE MARCH TO LUTETIA IS OPPOSED BY CAMULOGENUS**

While these things were being done by Caesar, Labienus left at Agedincum the recruits who had recently arrived from Italy to guard the baggage. He marched with four legions to Lutetia (which is a town of the Parisii, situated on an island on the river Seine). Their arrival was discovered by the enemy, and numerous forces arrived from the neighboring states. The supreme command was entrusted to Camulogenus, one of the Aulerci, who, although almost worn out with age, was called to that honor on account of his extraordinary knowledge of military tactics. Camulogenus, when he observed that there was a large marsh that was connected to the Seine and rendered all that country impassable, encamped in that place, and determined to prevent our troops from crossing.

#### **CHAPTER 58: LABIENUS'S STRUGGLES EN ROUTE TO LUTETIA**

Labienus at first attempted to move forward under the protection of sheds, fill up the marsh with hurdles and clay, and secure a road. After he perceived that this was too difficult to accomplish, he issued in silence from his camp at the third watch [sometime after midnight], and reached Metiosedum by the same route by which he came. This is a town of the Senones, situated on an island in the Seine (as we have just before observed of Lutetia). He seized upon about fifty ships, quickly joined them together, placed soldiers in them, and intimidated by his unexpected arrival the inhabitants who had been called out to the war in great numbers. Labienus thus obtained possession of the town without a contest. After he repaired the bridge, which the enemy had broken down during the preceding days, he led over his army, and began to march along the banks of the river to Lutetia. The enemy, on learning what happened from those who had escaped from Metiosedum, set fire to Lutetia, and ordered the bridges of that town to be broken down. They themselves set out from the marsh, and took their position on the banks of the Seine opposite Lutetia and opposite the camp of Labienus.

**CHAPTER 59: LABIENUS LEARNS OF CAESAR'S TROUBLE,  
AND ASSESSES THE DANGERS THAT CONFRONT HIM**

Caesar was now reported to have departed from Gergovia. Intelligence was likewise brought to Labienus concerning the revolt of the Aedui, and of a successful rebellion in Gaul. He was also told that Caesar had been prevented from prosecuting his journey and crossing the Loire, and had been compelled by the want of grain to march hastily to the Province. But the Bellovaci, who had previously been disaffected for their own reasons, on learning of the revolt of the Aedui, began to assemble forces and openly to prepare for war. Then Labienus, as the change in affairs was so great, thought that he had to adopt a very different plan from what he had previously intended. He no longer thought of making any new conquests or of provoking the enemy to an battle, but instead how he might bring back his army safely to Agedincum. For, on one side, the Bellovaci, a state that held the highest reputation for prowess in Gaul, were pressing on him, and Camulogenus with a disciplined and well-equipped army held the other side. Moreover, a very great river separated and cut off the legions from the garrison and baggage. He saw that as a result of the very large difficulties thrown in his way he must seek assistance from his own ability and courage.

**CHAPTER 60: LABIENUS BEGINS HIS RETREAT**

He therefore called a council of war a little before evening, and he exhorted his soldiers to execute with diligence and energy such commands as he should give. He assigned the ships that he had brought from Meti-osedum to Romans of equestrian status, one to each, and ordered them to sail down the river silently for four miles at the end of the fourth watch [i.e., before dawn], and wait for him there. He left the five cohorts, which he considered to be the most steady in action, to guard the camp. He ordered the five remaining cohorts of the same legion to proceed a little after midnight up the river with all their baggage, and to make a great commotion. He collected also some small boats, and sent them in the same direction with orders to make a loud noise in rowing. He himself, a little later, marched out in silence, and, at the head of three legions, headed for the place where he had ordered the ships to be brought.



**CHAPTER 61: CAMULOGENUS ATTEMPTS TO BLOCK LABIENUS**

When he had arrived there, the enemy's scouts, who were stationed along every part of the river and not expecting an attack, because a great storm had suddenly arisen, were surprised by our soldiers. The infantry and cavalry were quickly transported under the superintendence of the Romans of equestrian status, whom he had appointed to that office. Almost at the same time, a little before daylight, intelligence was given to the enemy that there was an unusual commotion in the camp of the Romans, and that a strong force was marching up the river, and that the sound of oars was distinctly heard in the same quarter, and that soldiers were being conveyed across in ships a little way downstream. On hearing these things, because they were of the opinion that the legions were crossing in three different places, and that the entire army, because they were terrified by the revolt of the Aedui, were preparing for flight, they divided their forces also into three divisions. They left a guard opposite the camp, and sent a small body of troops in the direction of Metiosedum with orders to advance as far as the ships would proceed. They led the rest of their troops against Labienus.

**CHAPTER 62: LABIENUS DEFEATS CAMULOGENUS**

By daybreak all our soldiers had been brought across, and the army of the enemy was in sight. Labienus encouraged his soldiers to retain the memory of their ancient valor and their numerous victorious battles, and imagine that Caesar himself, under whose command they had so often routed the enemy, was present. Then he gave the signal for battle. At the first onset the enemy were beaten and put to flight on the right wing where the seventh legion stood. On the left wing, the position the twelfth legion held, although the first ranks of the enemy fell transfixed by the javelins of the Romans, yet the rest of the enemy resisted most bravely. Nor did any one of them show the slightest intention of fleeing. Camulogenus, the general of the enemy, was present and encouraged his troops. But when the issue of the victory was still uncertain, and the circumstances that were taking place on the left wing were announced to the tribunes of the seventh legion, they turned around their legion to the enemy's rear and attacked it. Even then none of the enemy retreated, but all of them were surrounded and slaughtered. Camulogenus met the same fate. But those who were left as a guard opposite the camp of Labienus, after they heard that the battle was begun, marched to aid their countrymen and take possession of a hill, but they were unable to withstand the attack of our victorious soldiers. In this manner, mixed

with their own fugitives, those whom the woods and mountains did not shelter were cut to pieces by our cavalry. When this battle was finished, Labienus returned to Agedincum where the baggage of the whole army had been left. From this place, he marched with all his forces to Caesar.

### **CHAPTER 63: THE GALLIC REVOLT SPREADS, AND THE AEDUI SUBMIT TO VERCINGETORIX'S LEADERSHIP**

As the revolt of the Aedui became known, the war grew more dangerous. Embassies were sent by them in all directions. As far as they could prevail by influence, authority, or money, they strove to incite the state to revolt. After they got possession of the hostages whom Caesar had deposited with them, they terrified those who hesitated by putting hostages to death. The Aedui asked Vercingetorix to come to them and communicate his plans for conducting the war. On obtaining this request, they insisted that the supreme command should be assigned to them. And, when the affair became matter of dispute, a council of all Gaul was summoned to Bibracte. They came together in great numbers and from every quarter to the same place. The decision was left to the votes of the mass. All to a man approved of Vercingetorix as their general. The Remi, Lingones, and Treviri were absent from this meeting; the Remi and Lingones because they attached themselves to the alliance of Rome; the Treviri because they were very remote and were hard pressed by the Germans. This was also the reason for their absence during the whole war, and why they sent auxiliaries to neither party. The Aedui were highly indignant at being deprived of the supreme command. They lamented the change of fortune, and missed Caesar's favors toward them. However, after joining the war effort, they did not dare to pursue their own measures apart from the rest. Eporedorix and Viridomarus, youths of the greatest ambition, reluctantly submitted to Vercingetorix.

### **CHAPTER 64: VERCINGETORIX PLANS OFFENSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE ROMAN PROVINCE**

Vercingetorix demanded hostages from the remaining states. Indeed, what is more, he appointed a day for this proceeding. He ordered all the cavalry, fifteen thousand in number, to assemble quickly here. He said that he would be content with the infantry that he had previously, and would not tempt fortune nor fight a set battle. On the other hand, since he had abundance of cavalry, it would be very easy for him to prevent the Romans from obtaining forage or grain, provided that they themselves should resolutely destroy

their grain and set fire to their houses. By this sacrifice of private property, they would obtain perpetual dominion and freedom forever. After he arranged these matters, he levied ten thousand infantry from the Aedui and Segusiavi, who border on our province. In addition to these, he demanded eight hundred cavalry. He set over them the brother of Eporedorix, and ordered him to wage war against the Allobroges. On the other side, he sent the Gabali and the nearest cantons of the Arverni against the Helvii. He likewise sent the Ruteni and Cadurci to lay waste the territories of the Volcae Arecomici. Additionally, by secret messages and embassies, he tampered with the Allobroges, whose minds, he hoped, had not yet settled down after the excitement of the recent war. To their nobles he promised money, and to their state dominion over the whole province.

#### **CHAPTER 65: DEFENSIVE MEASURES ON THE ROMAN SIDE; CAESAR ENLISTS GERMAN CAVALRY**

The only guards offering any protection against all these developments were twenty-two cohorts that had been collected from the entire province by the lieutenant Lucius Caesar, who sent them against the enemy in every quarter. The Helvii, who voluntarily engaged in battle with their neighbors, were defeated, and Gaius Valerius Donotaurus, the son of Caburus, the chief leader of the state, and several others, were slain. They were forced to retreat within their towns and fortifications. The Allobroges placed guards along the course of the Rhine, and defended their frontiers with great vigilance and energy. Caesar perceived that the enemy were superior in cavalry, and he himself could receive no aid from the Province or Italy while all communication was cut off, so he sent messengers across the Rhine into Germany to those states that he had subdued in the preceding campaigns, and requisitioned from them cavalry and the light-armed infantry who customarily fought alongside them. When they arrived, they were mounted on unserviceable horses, so Caesar took horses from the military tribunes and the rest—indeed, even from the Romans of equestrian status and veterans—and distributed their horses among the Germans.

#### **CHAPTER 66: CAESAR RETURNS TO DEFEND THE PROVINCE**

In the meantime, while these things were going on, enemy forces from the Arverni and the cavalry requisitioned from all Gaul assembled. A great number of these were collected by Vercingetorix while Caesar was marching into the country of the Sequani through the confines of the Lingones, in order more easily to render aid to the Province. Vercingetorix stationed

his forces in three camps about ten miles from the Romans. He summoned the commanders of the cavalry to a council, and told them that the time of victory had arrived: the Romans were fleeing into the Province and abandoning Gaul. This was sufficient for obtaining immediate freedom, but was not enough for acquiring peace and tranquillity for the future. The Romans, Vercingetorix explained, would return after assembling greater forces and would not put an end to the war. Therefore, they should attack the Romans on their march when they were encumbered with their equipment. If the infantry were forced to relieve their cavalry, and were slowed down by doing so, they would not be able to accomplish their march. If, on the other hand, the Roman infantry abandoned their baggage to provide for their safety (the outcome which, Vercingetorix believed, was more likely to ensue), they would lose both their property and reputation. As to the enemy's cavalry, they should have no doubt whatsoever that none of them would dare to advance beyond the main column. In order that the Gauls might act with greater spirit, he would marshal all their forces before the camp, and intimidate the enemy. The cavalry unanimously shouted that they should bind themselves by a most sacred oath, and solemnly swear that anyone who had not twice ridden through the enemy's army would not be received under a roof nor have access to his children, parents, or wife.

#### **CHAPTER 67: CAESAR DEFEATS VERCINGETORIX**

This proposal received general approval, and everyone was forced to take the oath. On the next day, the cavalry were divided into three parts, and two of these divisions made a demonstration on our two flanks. The cavalry group in front began to obstruct our march. When this development was announced, Caesar ordered his cavalry to form three divisions as well, and to charge the enemy. At this point, the battle began simultaneously on all sides. The main column halted, the baggage was collected within the ranks of the legions. If our men appeared to be distressed or hard pressed in any quarter, Caesar usually ordered the troops to advance, and the army to wheel round in that quarter. This procedure slowed the enemy pursuit, and encouraged our men with the hope of support. At length, the Germans on the right wing gained the top of the hill, dislodged the enemy from their position, and pursued them even as far as the river where Vercingetorix was stationed with the infantry. The Germans slayed several of them. The rest, on observing this action, were afraid that they would be surrounded, and betook themselves to flight. A slaughter ensued in every direction, and three of the noblest of the Aedui were captured, and brought to Caesar: Cotus, the commander

of the cavalry, who had been engaged in the contest with Convictolitavis in the last election, Cavarillus, who had held the command of the infantry after the revolt of Litaviccus, and Eporedorix, under whose command the Aedui had engaged in war against the Sequani before the arrival of Caesar.

#### **CHAPTER 68: VERCINGETORIX RETREATS TO ALESIA, AND CAESAR BEGINS TO DIG IN FOR A SIEGE**

After all his cavalry were routed, Vercingetorix led back his troops in the same order as he had arranged them in front of the camp, and immediately began to march to Alesia, which is a town of the Mandubii. He ordered the baggage to be speedily brought out from the camp, and to follow closely behind him. Caesar, after his baggage was conveyed to the nearest hill, left two legions to guard it, and pursued the enemy as far as the time of day would permit. After slaying about three thousand of the rear of the enemy, he encamped at Alesia on the next day. Upon reconnoitering the situation of the city, he found that the enemy were panic-stricken, because the cavalry, on whom they placed their chief reliance, had been beaten. Caesar encouraged his men to endure the hard labor, and they began to draw a line of circumvallation around Alesia.

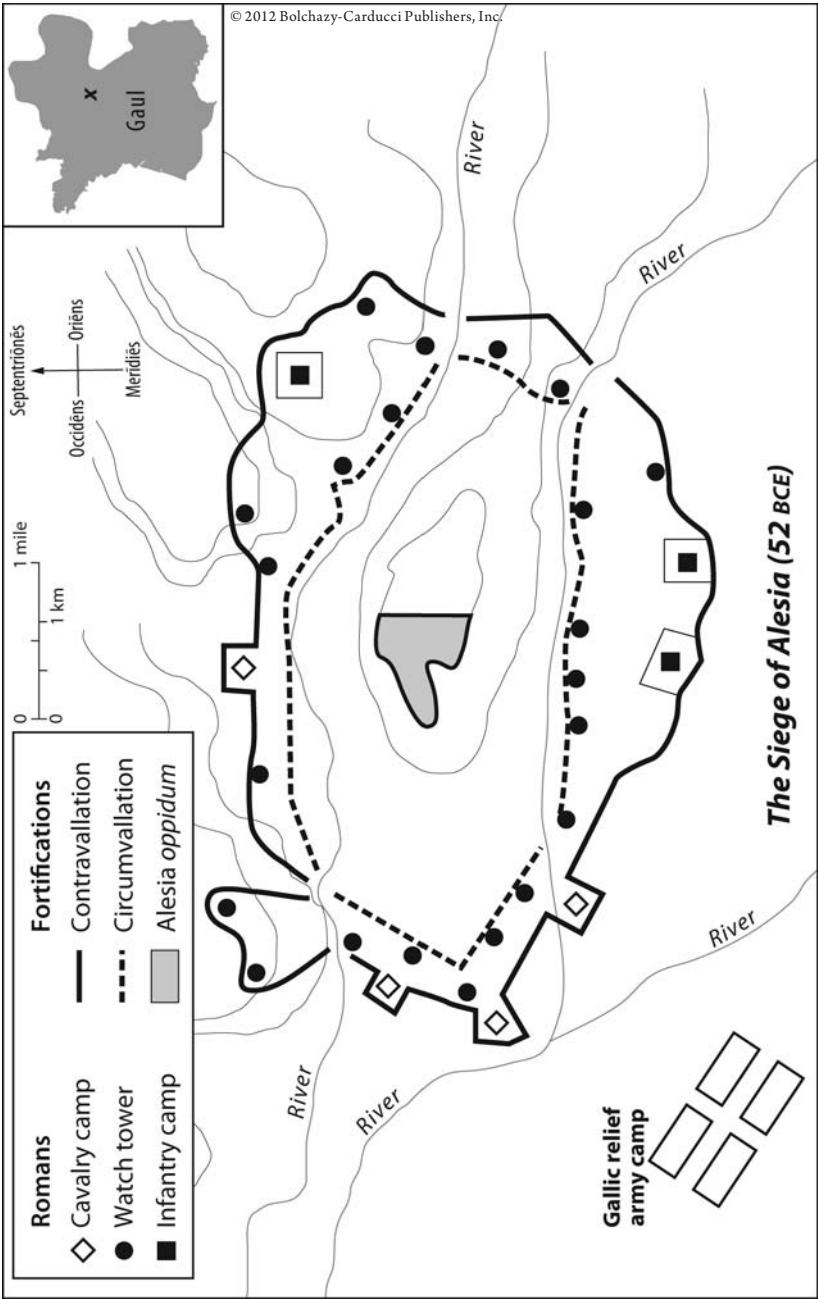
#### **CHAPTER 69: CAESAR DESCRIBES ALESIA AND THE SURROUNDING AREA**

The town itself was situated on the top of a hill in a very lofty position so that it did not appear likely to be captured except by a regular siege. Two rivers on two different sides washed the base of the hill. Before the town lay a plain of about three miles in length. On every other side, hills at a moderate distance and of an equal height surrounded the town. The army of the Gauls had filled all the space under the wall on the side of the hill that looked toward the rising sun, and they had dug in front a trench and built a stone wall six feet high. The circuit of the fortifications that the Romans began constructing comprised eleven miles. The camp was pitched in a strong position, and twenty-three forts were constructed along the Roman line. In these stations, sentinels were placed by day to prevent any attempt at a sudden sortie, and by night the same posts were occupied by watches and strong guards.

#### **CHAPTER 70: THE GAULS MAKE AN UNSUCCESSFUL SORTIE**

After the work had started, a cavalry battle ensued in the plain that we have already described as broken up by hills and extending three miles in length. The contest was maintained on both sides with the utmost

PLAN OF ALESIA



vigor. Caesar sent the Germans to aid our troops when distressed, and he mustered the legions in front of the camp to prevent any sudden sally by the enemy's infantry. The courage of our men was increased by the additional support of the legions. The enemy were put to flight, and then got in one another's way on account of their numbers. And, as only the narrower gates were left open, they were crowded together in them. The Germans pursued them with vigor all the way to their fortifications. A great slaughter ensued. Some left their horses, and tried to cross the ditch and climb the wall. Caesar ordered the legions whom he had drawn up in front of the rampart to advance a little. The Gauls, who were inside their fortifications, were no less panic-stricken than their retreating cavalry, and believed that the enemy were coming that very moment against them. They all began to shout at once: "To arms!" Some in their alarm rushed into the town. Vercingetorix ordered the gates to be shut, so that his camp would not be left undefended. The Germans retreated after slaying many and taking quite a few horses.

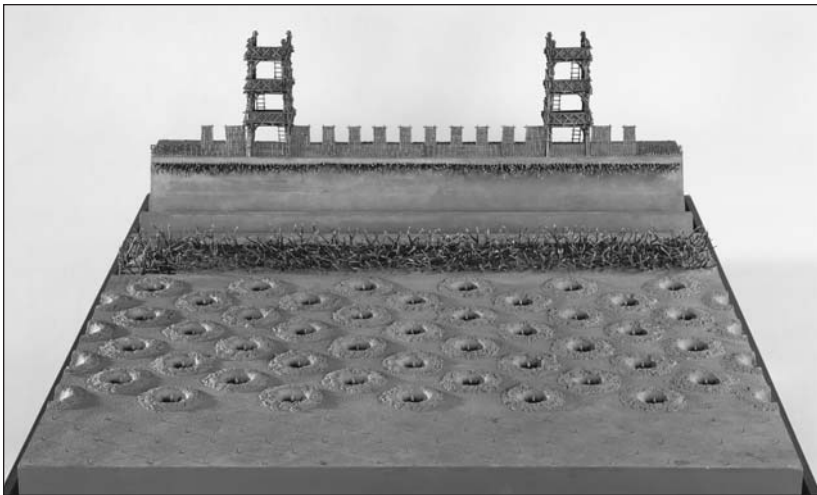
#### **CHAPTER 71: VERCINGETORIX SENDS OUT HIS CAVALRY BY NIGHT TO SUMMON REINFORCEMENTS**

Vercingetorix adopted the plan of sending away all his cavalry by night before the Romans could complete the fortifications. He instructed them when departing that each of them should go to his respective state, and urge all who were old enough to bear arms to join the war. He stated his own merits, and implored them to consider his safety, and not surrender to the enemy for torture one who had done so much for their common freedom. He pointed out to them that, if they failed to do as he asked, eighty thousand chosen men would perish with him, and that, according to his calculations, he had barely enough grain for thirty days, but could hold out a little longer by rationing. After giving these instructions, he silently dismissed the cavalry in the second watch [i.e., before midnight], on that side where our fortifications were not yet complete. He ordered all the grain to be brought to himself. He ordained capital punishment for anyone who did not obey. He distributed among them, man by man, the cattle, great quantities of which had been driven there by the Mandubii. He began to measure out the grain sparingly and in small quantities. He received into the town all the forces which he had posted in front of it. In this manner, he prepared to wait for reinforcements from Gaul, and carry on the war.



## CHAPTER 72: CAESAR DESCRIBES HIS LINE OF SIEGE WORKS AROUND ALESIA

Caesar, upon learning of these proceedings from deserters and captives, adopted the following system of fortification: he dug a trench twenty feet deep with perpendicular sides in such a manner that the base of this trench extended as far as the edges were apart at the top. He built all his other siege works at a distance of four hundred feet from that ditch. Because it was necessary to include such an extensive area, and the whole siege works could not be easily surrounded by a line of soldiers, Caesar was afraid that a large number of the enemy suddenly or by night might make a sortie from the town against our fortifications or by day cast weapons against our men while occupied with the siege works. Behind this intervening space, he dug two trenches fifteen feet wide and of the same depth. The innermost of trench, which was located in low and level ground, he had filled with water conveyed from the river. Behind these he built a rampart and wall twelve feet high. To the wall, he added a parapet and battlements with large stakes cut like stags' horns that projected from the junction of the parapet and battlements in order to prevent the enemy from scaling it, and he surrounded the entire work with turrets, which were eighty feet distant from one another.



Model of Julius Caesar's siege works before Alesia, made by General Verchère de Refflye for Napoléon III. Caesar sought to contain any Gallic escape with a series of obstacles: a field of lilies—sharpened stakes in pits; trenches of gravestones—impenetrable artificial underbrush; a field of *stimuli*—wood blocks with iron hooks fixed in them; two trenches; and a palisade with towers.



### **CHAPTER 73: CAESAR DESCRIBES ADDITIONAL FORTIFICATIONS**

It was necessary at one and the same time to procure timber for the rampart, lay in supplies of grain, and also build extensive fortifications. The available troops were as a result of this reduced in number, since they had to advance to some distance from the camp, and sometimes the Gauls attempted to attack our siege works, and to make a sally from the town by several gates and in great force. Caesar thought that further additions should be made to these siege works in order to make the fortifications defensible by a small number of soldiers. He therefore had the trunks of trees or very thick branches cut down, had their tops stripped of bark, and then sharpened into a point. He dug a continuous trench everywhere five feet deep. These stakes were sunk into this trench, and fastened firmly at the bottom to prevent the possibility of their being torn up. Only their branches projected from the ground. There were five rows that connected with, and intersected, each other. Whoever entered within them was likely to impale himself on very sharp stakes. The soldiers called these "boundary markers." In front of these, which were arranged in slanting rows in the form of an "x," pits three feet deep were dug, which gradually sloped toward the bottom. In these pits, tapered stakes the thickness of a man's thigh, which were sharpened at the top and hardened in fire, were planted in such a manner as to project from the ground not more than four inches. At the same time, for the purpose of giving them strength and stability, they were each filled with trampled clay to the height of one foot from the bottom. The rest of the pit was covered over with branches and twigs to conceal the deceit. Eight rows of this kind were dug, and were three feet distant from each other. The soldiers called this a "lily" from its resemblance to that flower. Stakes a foot long with iron hooks attached to them were entirely sunk in the ground in front of these, and were planted in every place at small intervals. The soldiers called these "spurs."

### **CHAPTER 74: CAESAR DESCRIBES HIS OUTER RING OF FORTIFICATIONS THAT PROTECT HIM AGAINST EXTERNAL ATTACK**

After completing this inner ring of siege works, Caesar selected as level ground as he could (considering the nature of the country), and enclosed an area of fourteen miles. He constructed against an external enemy an outer ring of fortifications of the same kind in every respect, and separated from the inner ring, so that the guards of the fortifications could not be

surrounded, even if attacked by immense numbers (if such a circumstance were to take place, owing to the departure of the enemy's cavalry). Finally, in order that the Roman soldiers would not be compelled to go out of the camp at great risk, Caesar ordered all his men to collect and have on hand forage and grain for thirty days.



Napoléon III, emperor of France from 1852–1870, sponsored archaeological excavations tracing France's roots as he believed the French combined the best of the Gallic and the Roman spirits. On Le Mont Avois near Alise-Saint-Reine, long associated with the ancient Alesia, in 1865 Napoléon III erected this larger-than-life tribute to the Gallic leader, Vercingetorix. As ancient coins show a clean-shaven Vercingetorix, it is believed the statue's flourishing mustache echoes Napoléon's own.

**CHAPTER 75: THE GAULS ASSEMBLE TO DISCUSS NEXT STEPS**

While those things were happening at Alesia, the Gauls convened a council of their chief nobility, and decided that not everyone who could bear arms should be called out (which was the opinion of Vercingetorix), but instead that a fixed number should be levied from each state. They were afraid that, if so great a multitude assembled together, they would neither be able to govern nor keep their men organized nor have the means of supplying them with grain. They demanded thirty-five thousand men from the Aedui and their dependents, the Segusiavi, Ambivareti, and Aulerci Brannovices. An equal number from the Arverni in conjunction with the Eleuteti, Cadurci, Gabali, and Vellavii, who were accustomed to be under the command of the Arverni. Twelve thousand each from the Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Santoni, Ruteni, and Carnutes. Ten thousand from the Bellovaci, and the same number from the Lemovices. Eight thousand each from the Pictones, Turoni, Parisii, and Helvetii. Five thousand each from the Suessiones, Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorii, Nervii, Morini, and Nitiobriges. The same number from the Aulerci Cenomani. Four thousand from the Atrebatas. Three thousand each from the Vellocasses, Lexovii, and Aulerci Ebuovices. Thirty thousand from the Rauraci and Boii. Six thousand altogether from the states that border on the Atlantic, and which in their dialect are called Armoricae (in which number are included the Curiosolites, Redones, Ambibarii, Caletes, Osismi, Lemovices, Veneti, and Venelli). Of these, the Bellovaci did not contribute their number, as they said that they would wage war against the Romans on their own and at their own discretion, and would obey the command of no man. However, at the request of Commius, they sent two thousand men in consideration of a tie of hospitality that existed between themselves and Commius.

**CHAPTER 76: MORE GALLIC DEFECTION (DESPITE CAESAR'S FAVORS!)**

Caesar had (as we have previously narrated) availed himself of the faithful and valuable services of this same Commius in Britain in former years, and in consideration of his merits Caesar had exempted Commius's state from taxes, and had conferred on Commius himself the country of the Morini. Yet such was the unanimity of the Gauls in asserting their freedom, and recovering their ancient renown in war, that they were influenced neither by favors nor by the recollection of private friendship, and

all of them earnestly directed their energies and resources to the war. They collected eight thousand cavalry and about two hundred and forty thousand infantry. These men were mustered in the country of the Aedui, and a calculation was made of their numbers. Commanders were appointed. The supreme command was entrusted to Commius the Atrebatian, to Viridomarus and Eporedorix the Aeduans, and to Vercassivellaunus the Arvernian, the cousin of Vercingetorix. Each of them was assigned advisors, who were selected from each state, to guide them in the conduct of the war. All marched to Alesia, enthusiastic and full of confidence. Not a single one of them imagined that the Romans could withstand the sight of such an immense host, especially in a battle that would be carried on both in the front and rear, inasmuch as, on the inside, the besieged would make a sortie from the town, and attack the enemy, while, on the outside, the Romans would face great forces of cavalry and infantry.

#### **CHAPTER 77: STARVATION IN ALESIA; THE GAULS CONSIDER CANNIBALISM**

But those who were blockaded at Alesia were ignorant of what was going on among the Aedui. The day was past, on which they had expected reinforcements from their countrymen, and all their grain was consumed. They convened an assembly to deliberate on the crisis they faced. Various opinions were expressed among them. Some proposed a surrender; others a sortie, while their strength could support it. The speech of Critognatus, however, should not be omitted on account of its singular and detestable cruelty. Critognatus, who was born from the noblest family among the Arverni, and possessed great influence, said, "I shall pay no attention to the opinion of those who advocate a most disgraceful slavery with their call for surrender. I do not think that they ought to be considered citizens or invited to our council. My business is with those who approve of a sortie. In their advice, as you all agree, the memory of our ancient prowess seems to linger. To be unable to endure deprivation for a short time, however, is disgraceful cowardice, not true valor. Those who voluntarily offer to sacrifice themselves to death can be found more easily than those who are able calmly to endure pain. I would even approve of their opinion (for honor is a powerful motive with me), if I foresaw no other loss except that of our lives. But let us, in adopting our plan, consider all Gaul, which we have summoned to our aid. What courage do you think would our relatives and friends have, if eighty thousand men were butchered in one

spot, and they would then be forced to engage in battle almost over our corpses? Do not utterly deprive them of your aid, for they have spurned all thoughts of personal danger for the sake of your safety. Do not, by your folly, rashness, and cowardice, crush all Gaul, and doom it to an eternal slavery! Do you doubt their loyalty and commitment because they have not come by the appointed day? What then? Do you suppose that the Romans work every day on their outer fortifications for mere amusement? If they cannot assure you by their messages, since every possible route is blockaded, take the Romans as evidence that the approach of our reinforcements is drawing near, inasmuch as the Romans, intimidated by their fear of this, labor night and day at their siege works. What, therefore, is my plan? To do as our ancestors did in the war against the Cimbri and Teutones, which was by no means equally momentous. When they were driven into their towns, and oppressed by similar deprivations, they sustained their lives by the corpses of those who appeared useless for war on account of their age. And they did not surrender to the enemy! Even if we had no precedent for such cruel conduct, still I would consider it most glorious that we established it, and delivered it to posterity. For in what way was that war like this war? The Cimbri, after laying Gaul to waste, and inflicting great calamities, at length departed from our country, and sought other lands. They left us our rights, laws, lands, and liberty. But what other motive or wish do the Romans have than, induced by envy, to settle on the lands and in the states of those who, as they have learned, are by reputation noble and powerful in war, and impose on them perpetual slavery? For they have never waged wars on any other terms. But, if you do not know about these things that take place in distant countries, look to the Gaul that neighbors us. That Gaul has been reduced to the form of a province, stripped of its rights and laws, and subjected to Roman despotism. It is oppressed by perpetual slavery!"

#### **CHAPTER 78: THE MANDUBII ARE EXPELLED FROM ALESIA WITH THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN**

After various opinions were expressed, they decreed that those who, owing to age or ill health, were unserviceable for war, should depart from the town, and that they should themselves try every expedient before they had recourse to the advice of Critognatus. They would, however, rather adopt Critognatus's plan, if circumstances compelled them and their allies delayed, than accept any terms of a surrender or peace. The Mandubii, who

had admitted them into their town, were compelled to go forth with their wives and children. When these townspeople came to the Roman fortifications, weeping, they begged of the soldiers by every entreaty to receive them as slaves and relieve them with food. But Caesar, placing guards on the rampart, forbade them to be admitted.

### **CHAPTER 79: GALIC ALLIES ARRIVE TO RELIEVE ALESIA**

In the meantime, Commius and the rest of the leaders, to whom the supreme command had been entrusted, came with all their forces to Alesia, and, having occupied the entire hill, encamped not more than a mile from our fortifications. The following day, they led out their cavalry from the camp, filled the whole plain, which (as we have related) extended three miles in length, and drew out their infantry a little from that place, and posted them on the higher ground. The town of Alesia commanded a view of the whole plain. The besieged ran together, when they saw these reinforcements. Mutual congratulations ensued, and the minds of all were elated with joy. They therefore led out their troops, encamped outside the town, and covered the nearest trench with hurdles, and filled it in with dirt, and made ready for an assault and every eventuality.

### **CHAPTER 80: CAESAR FIGHTS ON TWO FRONTS**

Caesar stationed his army on both sides of the fortifications, in order that, if the occasion arose, each would hold and know his own post. He ordered the cavalry to issue forth from the camp, and begin battle. There was a commanding view from the entire camp, which occupied a ridge of hills, and the minds of all the soldiers anxiously awaited the issue of the battle. The Gauls had scattered archers and light-armed infantry here and there among their cavalry to give relief to their retreating troops, and to resist the impact of our cavalry. Several of our soldiers were unexpectedly wounded by these troops, and left the battle. When the Gauls were confident that their countrymen were winning the battle, and they beheld our men hard-pressed by their large numbers of men, both the Gauls who were hemmed in by the line of circumvallation and the Gauls who had arrived to reinforce them, increased the enthusiasm of their troops with shouts and yells from every quarter. As the battle was carried on in sight of all, neither a brave nor cowardly act could be concealed. Both the desire of praise and the fear of disgrace urged on each side to valor. The fighting lasted from noon almost to sunset, but still victory inclined in favor of neither side. Then

the Germans, on one side, made a charge against the enemy in a compact body, and drove them back, and, when their cavalry were put to flight, their archers were surrounded and cut to pieces. In other parts, likewise, our men pursued to their camp the retreating enemy, and did not give them an opportunity of rallying. Those who had come forth from Alesia returned into the town dejected and almost despairing of success.

### **CHAPTER 81: THE GAULS MAKE AN ASSAULT ON CAESAR'S FORTIFICATIONS**

The Gauls, after the interval of a day and after making, during that time, an immense number of hurdles, scaling-ladders, and iron hooks, silently went forth from their camp at midnight, and approached our fortifications in the plain. They suddenly raised a shout to let those who were besieged in the town know of their arrival. They then began to cast down hurdles and dislodge our men from the rampart by slings, arrows, and stones, and executed the other movements which are required for storming fortifications. At the same time, Vercingetorix, having heard the shout, gave the signal to his troops with a trumpet, and led them forth from the town. Our troops, as each man's post had been assigned to him some days before, manned the fortifications. They intimidated the Gauls with slings, large stones, stakes that they had placed along the siege works, and ammunition for the slings. Darkness made it impossible to see anything. Many were wounded on both sides. Several missiles were shot from the artillery. But Marcus Antonius and Gaius Trebonius, the lieutenants to whom the defense of these parts had been allotted, summoned troops from the more remote forts, and sent them to aid our troops wherever they had observed that our troops were hard pressed.

### **CHAPTER 82: THE GAULS ARE FRUSTRATED IN THEIR ATTEMPTS**

While the Gauls were at a distance from the fortification, they had a greater advantage, owing to the immense number of their weapons. After they came nearer, they were caught unawares in the "spurs" or slipped into the pits, and were impaled, or were pierced by the javelins hurled from the ramparts and towers, and thus perished. They received many wounds on all sides, and failed to force their way through any part of the siege works. And, when day was about to dawn, they were afraid that they would soon be surrounded by a sally made from the higher camp on their exposed flank, so they retreated to their comrades. The Gauls on the side of the inner ring, on the other hand,



brought forward all the things that had been prepared by Vercingetorix for their assault. They filled up the nearest trenches, but these movements took a long time to execute, which slowed them down. They learned of the retreat of their countrymen before they could draw close to the fortifications, and therefore returned to the town without accomplishing their object.

#### **CHAPTER 83: VERCASSIVALLAUNUS LEADS ELITE TROOPS AGAINST CAESAR'S FORTIFICATIONS**

The Gauls, who had been twice repulsed with great loss, deliberated about what they should do. They made use of information from those who were well acquainted with the country. From them they learned the position and fortifications of the upper camp. There was, on the north side, a hill, which our men could not include in their works, on account of the extent of its circumference, and they were compelled to establish their camp on ground almost disadvantageous and pretty steep. Gaius Antistius Reginus and Gaius Caninius Rebilus, two of the lieutenants, with two legions, were in possession of this camp. The leaders of the enemy reconnoitered the country with their scouts, and selected from their entire army sixty thousand men who belonged to those states with the greatest reputation for character and for courage. They privately arranged among themselves what they wished to be done and in what manner. They decided that the attack should take place at about noon. They appointed over their forces Vercassivallaunus, the Arvernian, one of the four generals and a near relative of Vercingetorix. He issued from the camp at the first watch [well before midnight], almost completed his march a little before the dawn, hid himself behind the mountain, and ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves after their labor during the night. When noon now seemed to draw close, he marched hastily against the camp (that we mentioned earlier). At the same time, the cavalry began to approach the fortifications in the plain, and the rest of the forces began to make a demonstration in front of the camp.

#### **CHAPTER 84: VERCINGETORIX LEADS TROOPS FROM ALESIA AGAINST CAESAR'S FORTIFICATIONS**

Vercingetorix beheld his countrymen from the citadel of Alesia, and issued forth from the town. He brought out from the camp long hooks, movable sheds, grappling hooks, and other things that he had prepared for the purpose of making an assault. They engaged on all sides at once and every expedient was adopted. They flocked to whatever part of the siege works seemed



weakest. The Roman army was distributed along their extensive lines, and with difficulty met the enemy in every quarter. The shouts that were raised by the combatants in their rear had a great tendency to intimidate our men, because they perceived that their safety from that threat rested on the valor of others: for distant dangers generally disturb men's minds more severely than those they can confront directly.

#### **CHAPTER 85: THE GAULS MAKE THEIR ASSAULT AND THE ROMANS THEIR DEFENSE**

Caesar, having selected a commanding spot, could see distinctly whatever was going on in each quarter, and sent assistance to his troops where they were hard pressed. The idea uppermost in the minds of both sides was that the present was the time when they would have the best opportunity for a decisive contest. The Gauls despaired of all safety, unless they could succeed in breaking through the Roman lines. The Romans expected an end to all their labors, if they could win the day. The principal struggle was along the upper lines where (as we have said) Vercassivellaunus had been sent. The least elevation of ground, when added to a slope, provides huge momentum. Some were casting missiles. Others were forming a "tortoise" [interlocking their shields above their heads], and advanced to the attack. Fresh men by turns relieved the wearied. The earth, heaped up by all against the fortifications, gave the means of ascent to the Gauls, and covered those works which the Romans had concealed in the ground. Our men no longer had weapons or strength.

#### **CHAPTER 86: CAESAR DIRECTS THE DEFENSE**

Caesar, when he observed these movements, sent Labienus with six cohorts to relieve his distressed soldiers. He ordered Labienus, if he found he could not hold the place, to draw off the cohorts, and fight his way back, but not to do this except if it became absolutely necessary. He himself went to the other troops, and exhorted them not to succumb to the strain of the hard labor, telling them that all the profits from all their previous battles depended on that day and hour. The Gauls on the interior side, despairing of breaking through the fortifications in the plains on account of the size of the siege works, attempted to scale the higher parts. They brought in the devices that they had prepared. With the immense number of their missiles, they dislodged the defenders from the turrets. They filled the ditches with clay and hurdles, and then cleared the way. They tore down the rampart and parapet with hooks.

**CHAPTER 87: CAESAR CONTINUES TO DIRECT THE DEFENSE, AND HASTENS TO JOIN THE BATTLE PERSONALLY**

Caesar sent at first young Brutus with six cohorts, and afterward Gaius Fabius, his lieutenant, with seven more. Finally, as the enemy fought more obstinately, he led up fresh men to the assistance of his soldiers. After renewing the battle, and repulsing the enemy, he marched in the direction where he had sent Labienus, drafted four cohorts from the nearest fort, and ordered part of the cavalry to follow him, and another part to go around the external fortifications and attack the enemy in the rear. Labienus, when neither the ramparts nor ditches could stop the onset of the enemy, informed Caesar by messengers of what he intended to do. Caesar hastened to share in the action.

**CHAPTER 88: CAESAR APPEARS IN BATTLE, AND THE GAULS ARE DEFEATED**

Caesar's arrival was known from the scarlet color of his robe. The troops of cavalry and the cohorts whom he had ordered to follow him were spotted too, as the low and sloping grounds were plainly visible from the heights. The enemy then joined battle. A shout was raised by both sides, which was succeeded by a general shout along the ramparts and along the whole line of fortifications. Our troops, laying aside their javelins, continued the battle with their swords. Then the cavalry suddenly appeared in the rear of the Gauls. The other cohorts advanced rapidly. The enemy turned their backs. The cavalry intercepted them in their flight, and a great slaughter ensued. Sedulius, the general and chief of the Lemovices, was slain. Vercassivellaunus the Arvernian was captured alive in the flight. Seventy-four military standards were brought to Caesar, and only a few out of so great a number returned safe to their camp. The besieged, beholding from the town the slaughter and flight of their countrymen, despaired of safety, and led back their troops from the fortifications. A flight of the Gauls from their camp immediately ensued after they learned of this disaster, and, if our soldiers had not been worn out from sending frequent reinforcements and the efforts of the entire day, all the enemy's forces could have been destroyed. Immediately after midnight, the cavalry were sent out, and caught up with the rearguard. A great number were captured or cut to pieces. The rest by flight escaped in different directions to their respective states.



Lionel Royer provides a vivid interpretation of Vercingetorix's surrender in this painting of 1899. The Gallic chieftain lays down his arms at the feet of the seated Caesar. Having finally lost the city of Alesia after a relief force of Gauls, numbering 250,000, could not break through the Roman lines and left, Vercingetorix surrendered. The Roman siege works and a set of standards can be seen in the background.

## **CHAPTER 89: THE GAULS SURRENDER VERGINGETORIX TO CAESAR, AND EACH SOLDIER RECEIVES A CAPTURED GAUL AS PLUNDER**

Vercingetorix convened a council the following day, and declared that he had undertaken that war not for the sake of his own interests and needs, but for the sake of freedom for all, and, since he had to yield to fortune, he offered himself to them for whatever course of action they preferred: whether by his death they wished to atone for their crime against the Romans or to surrender him alive. Ambassadors were sent to Caesar on this subject. He ordered them to surrender their weapons and to deliver up their leaders. He seated himself at the siege works in front of the camp. The Gallic leaders were brought before him. They surrendered Vercingetorix, and laid down their arms. Caesar kept back the Aedui and Arverni, in the hopes that he could win over, through their influence, their respective states, but he distributed the remaining captives one apiece to each of the soldiers throughout the entire army as plunder.

**CHAPTER 90: CAESAR SENDS THE TROOPS TO WINTER  
QUARTERS AND THE SENATE GIVES THANKS TO THE  
IMMORTAL GODS**

After he made these arrangements, Caesar marched into the country of the Aedui, and recovered that state. To this place ambassadors were sent by the Arverni, who promised that they would obey his commands. He demanded a great number of hostages. He sent the legions to winter-quarters. He restored about twenty thousand captives to the Aedui and Arverni. He ordered Titus Labienus to march into the country of the Sequani with two legions and the cavalry, and he attached Marcus Sempronius Rutilus to him. He placed Gaius Fabius and Lucius Minucius Basilus, with two legions, in the country of the Remi to protect them from suffering any violence at the hands of the neighboring Bellovaci. He sent Gaius Antistius Reginus into the country of the Ambivareti, Titus Sextius into the territories of the Bituriges, and Gaius Caninius Rebilus into those of the Ruteni, with one legion each. He stationed Quintus Tullius Cicero and Publius Sulpicius among the Aedui at Cabillonum and Matisco on the Saone (Arar) river to procure supplies of grain. Caesar himself decided to spend the winter at Bibracte. After learning of these successes from Caesar's dispatches, the Senate decreed twenty days of public prayer and thanksgiving to the immortal gods.

**BOOK 8 [51–50 BCE]**

*The surrender of Alesia represents the dramatic turning point of the war, but Caesar's work of conquest was not entirely done. Book Eight describes the military operations that continue in 51 and 50 BCE to suppress the revolt once and for all. This book was not written by Caesar, however, but instead by one of his lieutenants, Aulus Hirtius.*

## APPENDIX: FIGURES OF SPEECH

This table is a lightly revised version of the one found in Kelsey 1918, pp. 582–584. The section numbers indicate the place of this table in the complete grammatical and syntactical appendix, which may be found online. Indications for pronunciation are only approximate. Many vowels marked short should simply be pronounced as a schwa, i.e., as an unstressed vowel.

### 301. Caesar uses the following Grammatical Figures:

- a. *Asyndeton* (ă-sĭn'-dĕ-tŏn), the omission of a conjunction where a connective might have been used; the effect is terse and clipped (*compare polysyndeton*); as in, **loca, portūs, aditūs cognōvisset**, *should have become acquainted with the natural features, the harbors (and) the approaches* (BG 4.20); **Lūciō Pisōne, Aulō Gabīniō cōsulibus**, *in the consulship of Lucius Piso (and) Aulus Gabinius* (BG 1.6).
- b. *Brachylogy* (bră-kĭl'-ŏ-gĕ), a condensed form of expression; as in, **cōnsimilis caprīs figūra**, *shape like (that of) goats*, that is, **figūra cōnsimilia figūrae** (dat.) **caprārū** (BG 6.27).
- c. *Ellipsis* (ĕ-lĭp'-sĭs), the omission of words essential to the meaning; as in, **Duae filiae**, for **Duae filiae fuērunt**, *There were two daughters* (BG 1.53).
- d. *Hendiadys* (hĕn-dĭ'-ă-dĭs), the use of two nouns with a connective where a noun with a modifying genitive or adjective might have been expected; as in, **fidem et iūs iūrandum**, *a pledge of good faith bound by an oath*, lit., *good faith and an oath* (BG 1.3).
- e. *Parenthesis* (pă-rĕn'-thĕ-sĭs), the insertion of an independent sentence or phrase that interrupts the construction with a separate thought, often one that helps explain the main construction; as in, **quam maximum**

**potest militum numerum imperat** (erat . . . **legiō ūna**), **pontem . . . iubet** (historical present) **rescindī**, *he levied as many soldiers as possible (there was only one legion, altogether, in further Gaul), and gave orders that the bridge be cut down* (BG 1.7).

- f. *Polysyndeton* (pöl-ĩ-sĩn'-dē-tōn), the use of more conjunctions than the sense requires; the effect tends to emphasize whatever is joined in this way (compare *asyndeton*); as in, **Ceutronōs et Graiocēli et Caturigēs**, *the Ceutrones, the Graioceli, and the Caturiges* (BG 1.10).
- g. *Prolepsis* (prō-lēp'-sīs), or *Anticipation*, the use of a noun as object in a clause preceding the one in which it naturally belongs as subject; as in, **rem frūmentāriam, ut supportārī posset, timēre**, *that they feared that the supply of grain could not be brought in, lit., they feared the supply of grain, that it . . .* (BG 1.39).
- h. *Synesis* (sĩn'-ē-sīs), construction according to the sense without regard to the grammatical form; as in, **cīvitātī persuāsīt, ut . . . exīrent**, *he persuaded the (people of his) state to go out, lit., he persuaded his state that they should go out* (BG 1.2). (I.e., *cīvitās* is singular, so, from a grammatical perspective, *exīrent* should have been singular as well.)

### 302. Caesar uses the following Rhetorical Figures:

- a. *Anaphora* (ā-nāf'-ō-rā), the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive phrases or clauses; as in, **nōn aetāte cōfectīs, nōn mulieribus, nōn infantibus pepercērunt**, *they spared not the aged, not the women, not the children* (BG 7.28).
- b. *Antithesis* (ān-tīth'-ē-sīs), the juxtaposition of contrasted expressions in like order; as in, **Non sēsē Gallia, sed Gallīs sibi, bellum intulisse**, *He did not make war on the Gauls, but the Gauls on him* (BG 1.44).
- c. *Chiasmus* (kī-ās'-mūs), an arrangement of contrasted words in inverse order (follows a pattern of ABBA) or inverted parallelism; as in, for example, **fāma nōbilēs potentēsque bellō**, *in reputation notable, and powerful in war* (BG 7.77).
- d. *Climax* (klī'-māx), an arrangement of words, phrases, or clauses with gradual increase of interest or vigor of expression to the end; as in, **cōferre, comportārī, adesse**, *that it was being collected, was on the way, was at hand* (BG 1.16).

- e. *Euphemism* (yū'-fē-mīzm), the use of a mild expression in order to avoid a word of bad omen or occurrence; as in, **sī quid accidat Rōmānīs**, *if anything should happen to the Romans*, meaning *if any disaster should befall the Romans* (BG 1.18).
- f. *Hyperbaton* (hī-pēr'-bā-tōn), the arrangement of words in unusual order, as the separation of words that belong together, such as the insertion of one or more words between the parts of an ablative absolute; thus, **simulātā Caesarem amīcitiā**, *that Caesar under the pretense of friendship*, the usual order would be **Caesarem, simulātā amīcitiā** (BG 1.44).
- g. *Litotes* (lit'-ō-tēz or lī-tō'-tēz), the affirmation of an idea through the negation of its opposite; as in, **neque tam imperitum esse rērum ut nōn scīret**, *and he was not so unversed in affairs as not to know*, meaning *that he was so worldly wise that he very well knew* (BG 1.44).
- h. *Personification* (pēr-sōn'-ī-fī-kā'-shūn), the representation of something inanimate or abstract as endowed with life and action; as in **Cōnspicātae nāvēs trirēmēs duae nāvem D. Brūtī**, *Two triremes, having caught sight of the ship of Decimus Brutus* (BC 2.6).





## — COMPLETE LATIN TO ENGLISH GLOSSARY —

**I**n this vocabulary, the numbers 1, 2, and 4 indicate for regular verbs the conjugation to which the verb belongs, and that their principal parts are formed according to the patterns of the model verbs **laudō**, **moneō**, and **audiō**, respectively; or, if the verb is deponent, according to the patterns of **hortor**, **vereor**, and **partior** (see App. §73).

Words in *italics* are explanatory and are not part of the definition. Words in square brackets are the root(s) from which a word is derived or another closely related word.

The symbol • follows the last letter of the base or stem of the word. To this base, subsequent syllables are added, e.g., **abic•iō**, **-ere** = **abiciō**, **abicere** or **āc•er**, **-ris**, **-re** = **ācer**, **ācris**, **ācre**. (NB: In Caesar's day, nouns that ended in **-ius** and **-ium** regularly had a genitive **-ī**, rather than **-īi**, e.g., **auxil•ium**, **-ī**. For details, see App. §16, c.)

A dagger † follows the entry for those words that appear both on the high frequency vocabulary list and in *italics* in the Latin text.

This glossary is based closely on the vocabulary in the edition of A. T. Walker (see the Acknowledgments at the beginning of this volume for details).

### A.

**ā** (*before consonants*), **ab** (*before vowels and some consonants*), **abs** (*before tē, and in some compounds*), *prep. with abl., originally denoting separation*; (1) *of place, persons, time, etc., from, away from, from the vicinity of*; (2) *denoting position, in some phrases, at, in, on, on the side of*; **ā tergō**, *in the rear*; (3) *with expressions of measure, away, off*;

**ab milibus passuum duōbus**, *two miles away*; (4) *with the pass. voice often expressing agent (the person by whom the action is performed), by*; (5) *variously translated in other expressions, from, by, in respect to, after*. †  
**a.** = **ante** *adv.*, (1) *before, above, previously*; (2) *prep. with acc., before, in front of, in advance of*.  
**A.**, *abbr. for Aulus, a Roman praenomen*.

**abic•iō, -ere, abiēcī, abiectum**

[**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], throw away or down; hurl.

**abs**, *see* **ā**.

**absum, abesse, āfui**, — [**sum**, be.

App. §78], be away, be absent or distant, be lacking or free from.

**ac**, *see* **atque**. †

**ac•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum**

[**ad** + **cēdō**, go], approach, come near to, arrive at, come to; to be added.

**ac•cidō, -cidere, -cidī**, — [**ad** +

**cadō**, fall], fall to or upon; befall; happen, fall to the lot of, occur. †

**ac•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum**

[**ad** + **capiō**, take], take or receive to oneself, accept; experience, suffer; learn, hear, take. †

**āc•er, -ris, -re**, *adj.*, sharp [App. §36].

**aci•ēs, -ēī** (*old gen. aciē*), *f.*, sharp

point or edge of a weapon; sharp or keen sight, glance; a line (*as forming an edge*), battle line;

**prīma**, the vanguard; **media**, the center; **novissima**, the rear (guard).

**ad**, *prep. with acc.*, originally expressing motion toward: (1) expressing motion, toward, against, to the vicinity of; (2) expressing position, at, by, near; (3) expressing purpose, with the gerund and gerundive, to, for (the purpose of); (4) with numbers, up to, about; (5) of time, up to, until; at, on; (6) variously

translated in other relations, at, after, for, to, according to, in the eyes of, among. †

**adāctus**, *see* **adigō**.

**ad•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [**dō**, put], place on, add.

**ad•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī,**

**-ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead to, draw to, bring to; induce, influence.

**adeō**, *adv.*, to such an extent, so much, so very, so; in fact.

**ad•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go.

App. §84], go to, approach, visit, assail, attack.

**ad•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum**

[**ad** + **faciō**, do], affect, inspire; **magnō dolōre afficere**, to annoy greatly.

**ad•flictō**, 1 [*freq. of affligō*], strike repeatedly, harass; oppress, vex

**ad•haereō, -haerēre, -haesi,**

**-haesum** [**haereō**, stick], cling to, stick to.

**adhib•eō, -ēre, -uī, -itum**

[**habeō**, have], bring to, bring in, summon; employ, use.

**adhortor**, 1 [**hortor**, encourage], encourage, incite.

**ad•igō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctum** [**ad** + **agō**, move], drive or bring by force, move; thrust, plunge, hurl (*of weapons*); bind (*by an oath*).

**ad•ipīscor, -ipīscī, -eptus sum**, attain to, gain.

**adit•us, -ūs**, *m.* [**adeō**, go to], approach, means of approach, right to approach, access.

- ad•iungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctum** [*iungō*, join], attach, join to, unite, add.
- adiūt•or, -ōris, m.** [*adiuvō*, aid], helper, assistant, abettor.
- adminis•ter, -trī, m.** [*minister*, servant], attendant, priest.
- administrō, 1** [*minister*, servant], serve, attend, wait upon; manage, guide.
- ad•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [*mittō*, send], admit; commit; incur; let go; give reins (*to a horse*).
- admodum, adv.** [*modus*, measure], *literally: up to the measure*; very much, very; *with numbers*, fully; *with negative*, at all.
- ad•olēscō, -olēre, -olēvī, -ultum**, grow up.
- ad•orior, -orirī, -ortus sum** [*orior*, arise], rise against, assail, attack.
- ad•sciscō, -sciscere, -scīvī, -scitum** [*ad* + *sciscō*, approve], approve, admit *or* receive (*as allies*).
- adsum, adesse, adfuī** [*sum*, be, App. §77], be near, be present, be at hand, appear.
- Aduātic•ī, -ōrum, m., a people in Belgic Gaul**, the Aduatici.
- advent•us, -ūs, m.** [*veniō*, come], arrival, approach, coming. †
- adversus, prep. with acc.** [*adversus*, turned against], opposite to, against.
- advers•us, -a, -um, adv.** [*perf. part. of advertō*, turn to], turned to, turned against; opposite, fronting; adverse, unfavorable; unsuccessful; **adversō flūmine**, up the river; **in adversum ōs**, full in the face.
- advolō, 1** [*volō*, fly], fly *to or* against, rush on *or* at.
- aedifi•cium, -cī, n.** [*aedificiō*, build], building, house.
- Aedu•us, -a, -um, adj.**, of the Aedui; *as a noun*: an Aeduan; *pl. as a noun*: the Aedui *or* Aeduans, *one of the most powerful Gallic tribes*.
- ae•ger, -gra, -grum, adj.**, sick, ill.
- aes, aeris, n.**, copper; *anything made of copper*, coin, money; **aes aliēnum**, *someone else's money*: debt.
- aes•tās, -ātis, f.**, summer.
- aestimāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [*aestimō*, value], valuation, appraisal.
- aest•us, -ūs, m.**, heat, boiling, surging, tide; **minuente aestū**, at ebb tide.
- af•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [*ad* + *faciō*, do], do to, treat, affect; **magnō dolōre afficere**, to annoy greatly.
- ag•er, -rī, m.**, field, land; district, territory. †
- aggregō, 1** [*ad* + *grex*, flock] *unite in a flock*; assemble; join, attach.
- agm•en, -inis, n.** [*agō*, move], *a moving body*; a marching column; army; **in agmine**, on the march; **primum agmen**,

the vanguard (*those in front*);  
**novissimum** or **extrēmum**  
**agmen**, the rear (guard) (*those*  
*in back*).

**ag•ō, -ere, ēgī, actum**, set in  
 motion, drive (*animals*); move  
 forward, advance (*military*  
*works*); do, transact, carry on  
 (*business*); discuss, speak; hold  
 (**conventum**, a meeting); give,  
 render (**grātiās**, thanks); plead  
 (**causam**, a case); **quod agitur**,  
 the matter in hand; **rēs agitur**,  
 something is at stake.

**ala•cer, -cris, -cre, adj.**, lively, eager,  
 active, ready, joyous, “fired up.”

**alacri•tās, -ātis, f.** [**alacer**, lively],  
 enthusiasm, eagerness.

**Alesi•a, -ae, f.**, Alesia; *main city*  
*of the Mandubii; now called*  
*Alise-Sainte-Reine.*

**aliās, adv.** [**alius**, another], at  
 another place, elsewhere; at  
 another time; **aliās . . . aliās**, at  
 one time . . . at another.

**aliēn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**alius**,  
 other], of or belonging to  
 another, another’s; strange,  
 alien, unfamiliar; unfavorable;  
 foreign to the purpose; **aes**  
**aliēnum**, debt; **aliēnissimī**,  
 complete strangers.

**aliō, adv.** [**alius**, other], to another  
 place, person, or thing; elsewhere.

**ali•quis, -quid and ali•quī,**  
**-qua, -quod, indef. pron.** [**quis**,  
 who. App. §62, *a*], someone,  
 something; anyone, anything,  
 any. †

**aliter, adv.** [**alius**, other],  
 otherwise; **aliter . . . ac**,  
 otherwise . . . than.

**ali•us, -a, -ud, gen. alius** (App.  
 §32) another, other; **alius . . .**  
**alius . . .**, one . . . another . . . ; *in*  
*pl.*, some . . . others . . . †

**Allobrog•ēs, -um, m.**, the  
 Allobroges, a Gallic people in  
 the Roman Province.

**Alp•ēs, -ium, f.**, Alps; *the*  
*mountains that separate northern*  
*Italy from Germany and*  
*Transalpine Gaul.*

**alt•er, -era, -erum** (App. §32), the  
 other (*of two*); second; the one;  
**alter . . . alter**, the one . . . the  
 other; **alterī . . . alterī**, the one  
 party . . . the other. †

**altitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**altus**, high,  
 deep], height, depth; thickness  
 (*of timber*).

**alt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, high, deep; *n.*  
*as noun*: the deep, the sea.

**ambact•us, -ī, m.**, vassal.

**Ambarr•ī, -ōrum, m.**, Ambarri; *a*  
*tribe living to the east of the Arar*  
*river.*

**Ambior•īx, -īgis, m.**, Ambiorix,  
*king of the Eburones.* †

**amb•ō, -ae, -a, adj.**, both.

**āment•um, -ī, n.**, strap or thong,  
*fastened to the shaft of a javelin to*  
*aid its propulsion.*

**amīciti•a, -ae, f.** [**amīcus**, friend],  
 friendship.

**amīc•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**amō**,  
 love], friendly, well-disposed;  
 devoted.

**amic•us, -ī, m.** [**amō**, love], friend, ally.

**ā•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send away, dismiss; let go; lose.

**amplē, adv.** [**amplus**, large], largely; *comp.*, **amplius**, more, farther.

**ampl•us, -a, um, adj.**, of large extent, spacious, large; illustrious, splendid, noble; generous, magnificent; **amplius**, *comparative as noun*, more, a greater number, a greater distance.

**an, conj.**, *used to introduce the second element of alternative questions*, or, or rather.

**ancor•a, -ae, f.**, anchor; **in ancoris**, at anchor.

**angustē, adv.** [**angustus**, narrow], narrowly; in close quarters.

**angusti•ae, -ārum, f. pl.** [**angustus**, narrow], narrowness; a narrow place or pass, strait, defile; straits, difficulties, perplexities.

**angust•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**angō**, squeeze], compressed, confined, narrow; **in angustō**, in a critical condition.

**anim•a, -ae, f.**, breath, life, soul.

**animad•vertō, -vertere, -verti, -versum** [**animus**, mind + **ad** + **vertō**, turn], turn the mind to; notice; **animadvertere in**, punish.

**anim•al, -ālis, n.** [**anima**, breath], animal, living (*and breathing*) creature.

**anim•us, -ī, m.**, mind, intellect; feelings; character; spirit, soul; resolution, courage; **animī causā**, for amusement; **in animō habēre**, intend.

**ann•us, -ī, m.**, year. †

**ante** (1) *adv.*, before, above, previously; (2) *prep. with acc.*, before, in front of, in advance of. †

**antecurs•or, -ōris, m.** [**currō**, run], forerunner; *pl.*, vanguard.

**ante•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry or bear before; prefer.

**aper•iō, -ire, -uī, -tum**, open, expose.

**Apoll•ō, -inis, m.**, the god Apollo.

**appellō**, 1, call, name, call by name, accost.

**appropinquō**, 1 [**ad** + **propinquus**, near], come near, come close, approach.

**Apr. = April•is, -e, adj.**, of (*the month of*) April.

**April•is, -e, adj.**, of (*the month of*) April.

**apud, prep. with acc.**, at, among, near, with; (*with persons*) at the house of, in the presence of. †

**aqua, -ae, f.**, water.

**aquil•a, -ae, f.**, an eagle; a military standard (*the aquila was the main standard of the legion*).

**aquili•fer, -ferī, m.** [**aquila**, eagle + **ferō**, carry], standard-bearer.

**Aquitān•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Aquitani or Aquitanians (*a people located on the Atlantic*

*coast above the Pyrenees, the mountains that separate the Iberian peninsula from Gaul).*

**Aquītān•us, -a, -um, adj.,**

Aquitanian, of Aquitania.

**Arar, -is, m. (acc.: -im),** Arar (river); now called Saône.

**arbitror, 1,** decide, think, believe. †

**arcess•ō, -ere, -ivī, -itum,**

summon, send for, invite.

**ārd•eō, -ēre, ārsī, ārsum,** burn,

blaze, be inflamed, be eager.

**argill•a, -ae, f.,** white clay.

**ārid•us, -a, um, adj. [areō, be dry],**

dry; neut. as noun: dry land.

**Ariovist•us, -ī, m.,** Ariovistus, a Germanic king.

**arm•a, -ōrum, n. pl.,** arms,

equipment, weapons; by

metonymy: battle, war. †

**armāment•a, -ōrum, n. pl. [armō, arm],** implements, gear; tackle or rigging (of a ship).

**Arpinē•ius, -ī, m.,** Gaius Arpineius, an equestrian in Caesar's army.

**arrip•iō, -ere, -uī, arreptum [ad + rapiō, seize],** take or seize hurriedly.

**ars, artis, f.,** skill, art; pl. the arts.

**arti•ficium, -fici, n. [ars, art + faciō, make],** a trade, handicraft; artifice, trick.

**a•scendō, -scendere, -scendī,**

-scēnsūm [ad + scandō, climb],

climb up, ascend, mount, climb.

**a•sciscō, -sciscere, -scivī,**

-scītum [ad + sciscō, approve],

approve, admit or receive (as allies).

**assistō, assistere, astitī, — [ad + sistō, stand],** stand by, stand near.

**ascēns•us, -ūs, m. [ascendō, climb up],** ascent, approach, climbing up.

**asp•er, -era, -erum, adj.,** rough, violent.

**at, conj.,** but, at least. †

**atque, ac (ac only before**

consonants, **atque** before vowels

and consonants), usually adds

something especially important,

while **et** usually adds things of

equal importance; and also, and

even, and; after words expressing

a comparison or difference: than,

as, from. †

**Atre•bās, -bātis, m.,** an

Atrebatian; pl. the Atrebates.

**at•texō, -texere, -texuī, -textum**

[ad + texō, weave], weave on.

**atting•ō, -ere, attigī, attactum**

[ad + tangō, touch], touch or

border on, reach, extend to,

arrive at, attain.

**at•tribuō, -tribuere, -tribuī,**

-tribūtum [ad + tribuō, assign], assign, allot.

**auctor, -is, m. [augeō, increase],**

one who produces, creates, or originates; promoter, instigator, advisor, author.

**auctōri•tās, -tātis, f. [auctor,**

producer], influence, character, authority, reputation.

**audācter, adv. [audāx, bold],**

boldly, fearlessly, daringly.

Comp. **audācius**; superl.

**audācissimē.**

**aud•eō, -ēre, ausus sum** (App. §74), dare, risk, venture.

**audiō, 4**, hear, hear of; **dictō audiēns**, obedient.

**auge•ō, -ēre, auxī, auctum**, increase, augment, enhance, add to.

**aurig•a, -ae, m.**, charioteer.

**Aurunculēi•us, -ī, m.**, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, *one of Caesar's lieutenants*.

**aut, conj.**, *used where the difference is important or exclusive, or; aut . . . aut*, either . . . or. †

**autem, conj.**, but (*a weak adversative*); however, on the other hand; now; moreover. †

**auxilior, 1** [**auxilium**, help], help, give aid, assist, render assistance.

**auxil•ium, -ī, n.** [**augeō**, increase], help, assistance, aid; *pl.*, auxiliary troops; reinforcements.

**āvert•ō, -ere, -ī, āversum** [**ab** + **vertō**, turn], turn away from or away, turn aside; turn back, repulse; *perf. part. as adj.*: with back turned.

## B.

**balte•us, -ī, m.**, sword belt.

**Balven•tius, -tī, m.**, Titus Balventius, *one of Caesar's centurions*.

**barbar•us, -a, -um, adj.**, foreign (*to Romans and Greeks*), uncivilized; *pl. as noun*: barbarians.

**Belg•ae, -ārum, m.**, the Belgians or Belgae (*a people located in northern Gaul along the English Channel*). †

**Belg•ium, -ī, n.**, the territory belonging to the Belgae.

**bellō, 1**, make war, carry on war, wage war.

**Bellovac•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Bellovaci (*a Belgic people*).

**bell•um, -ī, n.**, war. †

**benefi•cium, -cī, n.** [**bene**, well + **faciō**, do], benefit, favor, kindness, good deed.

**benevolenti•a, -ae, f.** [**bene**, well + **volō**, wish], goodwill, kindness.

**Bibract•e, -is, n.**, Bibracte; *capital of the Aedui*.

**bīdu•um, -ī, n.** [**bis**, twice + **diēs**, day], space or period of two days.

**bienn•ium, -ī, n.** [**bis**, twice + **annus**, year], two years.

**bipertitō, adv.** [**bis**, twice + **partior**, divide], in two parts or divisions, in two ways.

**Bōi•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Boii, *a Celtic tribe in southern Germany and Cisalpine Gaul who had once been powerful*.

**bon•us, -a, -um, adj.**, good, beneficial, profitable, well-disposed; (*with animō*) friendly; *as noun*, **bon•um, -ī, n.**, profit, advantage; **bon•a, -ōrum, n. pl.**, goods, property, estate; **bon•ī, -ōrum, m. pl.**, the good (people), good men, good citizens. *Comp.*: **melior**; *superl.*: **optimus** (App. §42).



**brev•is, -e, adv.**, short, brief, transitory.

**Britanni•a, -ae, f.**, Britannia, Britain. †

**C.**

**C., abbr. for praenomen Gāius.**

**C., sign for centum**, one hundred.

**cad•ō, -ere, cecidī, cāsum**, fall; fall in battle, be killed, die.

**caed•ēs, -is, f.** [**caedō**, cut], slaughter, massacre, murder.

**caelest•is, -e, adj.** [**caelum**, sky], *what is in the sky*, heavenly, celestial; *pl. as noun*: the gods (*who live in the sky*).

**Caes•ar, -aris, m.**, (1) Gaius Julius Caesar, general in Gaul and author of the *Commentaries*; (2) Lucius Julius Caesar, Caesar's relative and one of his lieutenants. †

**caesp•es, -itis, m.**, sod, turf.

**calami•tās, -tātis, f.**, disaster, misfortune, defeat.

**cap•iō, -ere, cēpī, captum**, take, capture, seize, catch; take in, beguile, induce; take up (*arms*); choose, select (*a place*); form; adopt (*a plan*); reach; arrive at (*a place*); make (*a beginning*); **collem capere**, take a position on a hill; **fugam capere**, take to flight. †

**captiv•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**capiō**, take], prisoner, captive.

**Carnut•ēs, -um, m.**, the Carnutes (*a people in central Gaul*).

**carr•us, -ī, m.**, cart, wagon.

**car•us, -a, -um, adj.**, dear, precious.

**cas•a, -ae, f.**, hut, barrack.

**Cass•ius, -ī, m.**, Lucius Cassius Longinus, *consul in 107 BCE, defeated and slain in battle by the Tigurini*.

**Castic•us, -ī, m.**, Casticus, *an important man among the Sequani*.

**castr•a, -ōrum, n. pl.** [**castrum**, fortress], camp, fortified camp; **castra facere** or **pōnere**, pitch camp; **castra movēre**, break camp. †

**cās•us, -ūs, m.** [**cadō**, fall], *what befalls*: accident, chance, misfortune, fate; crisis; **cāsū**, by chance.

**Catamantaloed•is, -is, m.**, Catamantaloedis, *a leader among the Sequani before Caesar's day*.

**catēn•a, -ae, f.**, chain, fetter.

**Catuvolc•us, -ī, m.**, Catuvolcus, *a leader among the Eburones who eventually poisons himself when things go badly for him*.

**caus•a, -ae, f.**, cause, reason, grounds, motive; situation, condition; a (*legal*) case, cause; **causam dicere**, to plead a case; **causā**, *following a gen.*, for the sake of, for the purpose of, for. †

**cēd•ō, -ere, cessī, cessum**, go, go away; give way, yield, retreat.

**celeri•tās, -tātis, f.** [**celer**, swift], quickness, speed, swiftness. †

**celeriter, adv.** [**celer**, swift], quickly, rapidly, speedily.

**Celt•ae, -ārum, m.**, the Celts or Kelts, the Celtae.

**centum** (C.), *indecl. card. number*, one hundred.

**centuri•ō, -ōnis**, *m.* [**centum**, hundred], centurion, *the commander of the century, a unit corresponding to one-sixtieth of a legion.*

**certām•en, -inis**, *n.* [**certō**, struggle], strife, struggle, contest, combat.

**certē**, *adv.* [**certus**, certain], certainly, at least, at all events.

**cert•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, decided, certain, sure, fixed; **certiōrem facere**, inform (*with acc. and inf.*); order (*with ut or nē and the subjunctive*); **certior fieri**, be informed. †

**cēter•ī, -ae, -a**, *adj.*, the rest of, the remainder; *as noun*: the rest, the remaining, the others.

**Ceutron•ēs, -um**, *m.*, the Ceutrones: (1) *a Belgic people subject to the Nervii* or (2) *a people living in the eastern part of the Roman Province.*

**cibāri•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [**cibus**, food], pertaining to food; *n. pl. as noun*: provisions; **molita cibāria**, flour, meal.

**Cicer•ō, -ōnis**, *m.*, Quintus Tullius Cicero, *brother of the more famous orator and consul of 63 BCE, Marcus Tullius Cicero. He served as one of Caesar's legates.* †

**cing•ō, -ere, cīnxī, cinctum**, encircle, surround, invest, encompass; man (*a wall*).

**circiter**, *adv.* about, around, near. †

**circuit•us, -ūs**, *m.* [**circumeō**, go around], a going around; a winding path; circumference, circuit.

**circum**, *prep. with acc.* [**circus**, circle], around, about, near.

**circumcid•ō, -ere, -ī, circumcisum** [**circum**, around + **caedō**, cut], cut around, cut off, cut; isolate.

**circum•dō, -dare, -dedi, -datum** [**dō**, put], put around, encompass, surround.

**circum•sistō, -sistere, -stiti, —** [**sistō**, stand], stand, flock or rally around, surround, hem in.

**circum•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum** [**speciō**, look], look (*around*) for or at, consider, examine.

**circum•veniō, -venire, -vēnī, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come or get around, surround, cut off, beset; betray, defraud. †

**citō**, *adv.*, quickly, speedily. *Comp.* **citius**; *superl.* **citissimē**.

**cīvi•tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**cīvis**, citizen], citizenship; the citizens (*as forming a community*), state, city. †

**clam**, *adv.*, secretly.

**clāmitō**, 1 [*frequentative of* **clāmō**, cry out], cry out repeatedly, exclaim.

**clām•or, -ōris**, *m.* [**clāmō**, cry out], outcry, noise, shouting, clamor.

**clār•us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, clear, loud.

**clēmenti•a, -ae, f.** [**clēmēns**, gentle], gentleness, kindness, mercy, clemency.

**cliēns, clientis, m., f.** [**clueō**, hear, obey], client, vassal, dependent, retainer.

**co•emō, -emere, -ēmī, -ēemptum** [**emō**, buy], buy, buy up.

**coepī, coepisse** (App. §86), began, commenced, undertook;

**coeptus, perf. part.**, begun, commenced. †

**cōgitō, 1** [**co + agitō**, consider], consider thoroughly *or* carefully, ponder, reflect; think, purpose, plan.

**cog•nōscō, -nōscere, -nōvī, -nitum** [**co + (g)nōscō**, learn], learn, ascertain; study, investigate; *perf.*, *I have learned, and thus:* I know (App. §193, I, a.). †

**cōgō, cōgere, coēgī, coāctum** [**co + agō**, drive], drive *or* bring together, collect, draw together, assemble, force, compel. †

**cohor•s, -tis, f.**, cohort. †

**cohortor, 1** [**co + hortor**, encourage], encourage greatly, cheer, animate.

**commentāri•us, -ī, m.**

[**commentor**, consider], notebook, sketchbook, memorandum, journal; sketch, memorandum, report; explanation, commentary.

**con•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**co + iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl, throw, cast; put; put together (*logically*), conjecture; **in fugam conicere**, put to flight.

**colligō, 1** [**con + ligō**, bind], bind *or* fasten together.

**col•ligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [**con + legō**, gather], gather together, collect; acquire; **sē colligere**, *collect oneself*: rally, recover.

**collocō, 1** [**con + locō**, place], place, set, station; arrange; **nūptum collocāre**, to give in marriage. †

**collo•quium, -quī, n.** [**colloquor**, talk together], talking together; conference, parley, interview.

**col•loquor, -loquī, -locūtus sum** [**con + loquor**, talk], speak with, converse, confer, have a conference. †

**colō, colere, coluī, cultum**, cultivate, dwell in; honor, worship.

**comb•ūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ustum** [**con + ūrō**, burn], burn up.

**commeāt•us, -ūs, m.** [**commeō**, go back and forth], trip, voyage; supplies, provisions.

**commemorō, 1** [**memorō**, call to mind], remind one of; state, mention.

**commendō, 1** [**mandō**, entrust], entrust, surrender.

**commeō, 1** [**meō**, go], go back and forth; *with ad*, resort to, visit.

**comminus, adv.** [**manus**, hand], hand to hand, in close combat.

**com•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], join, splice; commit (*a crime*), do; allow, permit; entrust; **proelium committere**, join *or* begin battle.

**Com•mius, -mī, m.**, Commius, a leader of the Atrebates. He was loyal to Caesar until 52 BCE when he led troops in support of the general Gallic revolt.

**commodē, adv.** [**commodus**, convenient], conveniently; readily, easily, fitly: **satis commodē**, to great advantage, very easily.

**commod•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**modus**, measure], in full measure: convenient, suitable, satisfactory.

**commod•um, -ī, n.** [**commodus**, convenient], convenience, interest, advantage.

**commūnicō, 1** [**commūnis**, common], make common, communicate, impart, share.

**commūn•is, -e, adj.** common, general; **rēs commūnis**, the common interest. †

**comparō, 1** [**parō**, prepare], prepare, get ready; acquire, gain, secure, prepare for.

**com•periō, -perīre, -perī, -pertum** [**pariō**, procure], find out with certainty, discover, ascertain.

**com•pleō, -plēre, -plēvī, -plētum** [*obs.*: **pleō**, fill], fill up or completely; complete; cover.

**complūr•ēs, -a, adj.** [**plūs**, more], several, many; a great many.

**comportō, 1** [**portō**, carry], carry together, collect, bring.

**com•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehēsum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], grasp or lay hold of, seize, catch, arrest, take, catch (*fire*).

**con•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go away, depart, withdraw; grant, yield; allow, permit.

**con•cidō, -cidere, -cīsī, -cīsum** [**caedō**, cut], cut down, kill, slay, cut off.

**con•cidō, -ere, -cidī, —, [cadō, fall]**, fall down, fall.

**conciliō, 1** [**concilium**, assembly], bring together; gain or win over, secure; reconcile, conciliate.

**concil•ium, -ī, n.**, assembly, gathering, council.

**concitō, 1** [**citō**, put in motion], stir up, rouse, instigate, incite.

**conclāmō, 1** [**clāmō**, shout], shout out, call aloud, yell.

**con•currō, -currere, -cursī, -cursum** [**currō**, run], run or rush together; hurry, run, rush; run to the rescue; come, gather.

**concurso, 1** [*frequentative of* **concurrō**, run], run about.

**concurso•us, -ūs, m.** [**concurrō**, run], a running together, attack, onset; collision.

**condici•ō, -ōnis, f.**, condition, state; agreement, stipulation, terms.

**con•ducō, -ducere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**ducō**, lead], lead or bring together, assemble, conduct; hire.

**cōnfectus**, *see* **cōnficiō**.

**cōn•ferō, -ferre, contulī, collātus**  
[**ferō**, bring. App. §81], bring  
or get together, collect, gather,  
carry, bring; crowd together;  
ascribe to; put off, defer;  
compare; **sē cōnferre**, betake  
oneself, take refuge.

**cōnfer•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*perf. part.*  
*of cōnferciō*, crowd together],  
dense, thick, compact, stuffed.

**cōnfestim**, *adv.*, hastily, at once,  
immediately.

**cōn•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], make  
or do thoroughly, complete,  
accomplish, finish; finish up,  
exhaust, weaken; furnish; dress  
or treat (*leather*).

**cōn•fidō, -fidere, -fisi, -fisum**  
[**fidō**, trust. App. §74], trust  
completely, rely on, feel  
confident, hope; **cōnfisus**,  
*perf. part. with pres. meaning*:  
relying on.

**cōnfin•ium, -ī, n.** [**finis**,  
boundary], common boundary,  
neighborhood.

**cōnfirmō, 1** [**firmō**, strengthen],  
establish, strengthen, encourage,  
console; declare, assert.

**cōn•fi teor, -fitērī, -fessus sum**  
[**fateor**, confess], acknowledge,  
confess.

**cōnflagrō, 1** [**flagrō**, burn], burn,  
be on fire.

**cōnflīctō, 1** [*freq. of cōnfligō*],  
strike together; *in the pass.*: be  
distressed.

**cōn•fligō, -fligere, -flīxī, -flīctum**  
[**fligō**, strike], strike against;  
contend, fight.

**coniūnctim, adv.** [**coniungō**,  
join], jointly.

**con•iungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctum** [**coniungō**, join], join  
with or together, connect, unite,  
bind.

**coniūrāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**coniūrō**,  
swear], a swearing together; plot,  
conspiracy; secret organization;  
confederacy; gang.

**cōnor, 1**, try, attempt, endeavor.

**cōn•scendō, -scendere, -scendi, -scēsum** [**scandō**, climb], climb,  
mount; go on board, embark.

**cōn•sciscō, -sciscere, -scivī, -scītum** [**sciscō**, resolve],  
resolve upon; **sibi mortem**  
**consciscere**, commit suicide.

**cōn•scribō, -scribere, -scripsi, -scriptum** [**scribō**, write], *write*  
*together in a list*: levy, enroll,  
enlist; write.

**cōnsecrō, 1** [**sacrō**, dedicate],  
dedicate, consecrate.

**cōnsecūtus, see cōnsequor.**

**cōn•sentiō, -sentire, -sēnsī, -sēsum** [**sentiō**, feel], *think*  
*together*: agree, combine.

**cōn•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus sum** [**sequor**, follow], follow up;  
go after, pursue; reach, overtake;  
gain, attain, accomplish; ensue,  
succeed.

**cōn•sidō, -sidere, -sēdī, -sessum**  
[**sīdō**, sit down], sit down  
together, settle; take a position.

**cōnsili-um, -ī, n.**, consultation, deliberation; counsel, advice; plan, design; measure, course of action; judgement; prudence, wisdom; an assembly for deliberation, council, council of war; **commūnī cōnsiliō**, by, or in accordance with, general action; **pūblicō cōnsiliō**, by action of the state; **cōnsilium capere** or **inīre**, form or adopt a plan; **cōnsilium habēre**, think, consider. †

**cōn-sistō, -sistere, -stitī, —** [**sistō**, stand], take a stand or position, keep one's position, stand, form (*when soldiers make a formation*); stop, halt, remain, stay; (*of ships*) lie at anchor; consist in, depend or rest on.

**cōnspect-us, -ūs, m.** [**conspiciō**, look at], sight, view; presence.

**cōn-spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum** [**speciō**, look], look at, observe, discern, perceive.

**cōnspicor**, 1 [**speciō**, look], observe, discern, perceive.

**cōnstipō**, 1, press or crowd closely.

**cōn-stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitūtum** [**statuō**, set up], set up, erect, construct, appoint, decide, decree, determine, establish, set, settle; (*of troops*) draw up (*in formation*); (*of ships*) anchor, station; raise (*a legion*). †

**cōn-stō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātum** [**stō**, stand], stand firm; depend on; be complete; cost; *impers.*: it is agreed, certain, evident, or known.

**cōn-suēscō, -suēscere, -suēvī, -suētum** [**suēscō**, become used to], become accustomed or used to; *perf.* (App. §193, I, a.), be accustomed; **cōnsuētus**, *perf. part. as adj.*: accustomed, usual. † **cōnsuētūd-ō, -inis, f.** [**cōnsuēscō**, become accustomed], habit, custom, practice; mode of life, “lifestyle.”

**cōn-sul, -sulis, m.**, consul, one of the two chief magistrates elected annually at Rome.

**cōnsul-ō, -ere, -uī, -tum**, take counsel, consult, consider; *with dat.*: take counsel for, consider the interests of, take care for; spare.

**cōn-sūmō, -sūmere, -sūmpsī, -sūmptum** [**sūmō**, take], take together or all at once: devour, consume, destroy; use up, waste, pass.

**cōn-surgō, -surgere, -surrēxī, -surrectum** [**surgō**, rise], arise together, arise in a body, arise.

**contabulō**, 1 [**tabula**, board], floor over, build in multiple stories, build up.

**contāgi-ō, -ōnis, f.** [**contingō**, touch], contact.

**contempti-ō, -ōnis, f.** [**contemnō**, despise], disdain, contempt.

**con-tendō, -tendere, -tendi, -tentum** [**tendō**, stretch], push forward, hasten; march; strive, contend, fight; be anxious for; maintain, insist.

**contenti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**contendō**, strive], striving, struggle, contest, dispute.

**con•texō, -texere, -texuī, -textum** [**texō**, weave], weave or bind together, connect.

**contigī, see contingō.**

**contin•ēns, -entis, adj.** [**contineō**, hold together], holding together; continuous, unbroken; neighboring; *as noun*, mainland, continent.

**continenter, adv.** [**continēns**, continuous], without interruption, continually, continuously.

**con•tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum** [**teneō**, hold], hold together; hold, keep, restrain; bound, shut up, contain; **sē continēre**, with *abl.*, remain in, on, or within. †

**con•tingō, -tingere, -tigī, -tāctum** [**tangō**, touch], touch, reach; extend to; befall, happen to.

**continu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**contineō**, hold together], holding together, unbroken, uninterrupted, continuous.

**contrā, adv. and prep. with acc.:** (1) *as adv.:* against him or them; on the other hand; **contrā atque**, contrary to what; (2) *as prep.*, against, contrary to; opposite, facing.

**contrōversi•a, -ae, f.** [**contrā**, against + **versus**, turned], dispute, argument, quarrel, controversy. †

**contumēli•a, -ae, f.**, affront, indignity, insult; injury, violence.

**convall•is, -is, f.** [**vallis**, valley], enclosed valley, defile.

**con•veniō, -venīre, -vēmī, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come together, assemble; convene, meet; come to, arrive; to be agreed upon; *impers.:* be convenient, suitable, or necessary. †

**convent•us, -ūs, m.** [**conveniō**, come together], a coming together, meeting, assembly; court.

**con•vertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versum** [**verto**, turn], turn completely, turn around, wheel around; turn, change; **signa convertere**, (turn) about face.

**co•orior, -orīrī, -ortus sum** [**orior**, rise], arise, spring up, break out.

**cōpi•a, -ae, f.**, supply, plenty, abundance, number; *pl.:* resources; forces, troops. †

**cor, cordis, n.**, heart.

**cotīdiān•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**cotīdiē**, daily], every day, daily; usual, customary.

**cotīdiē, adv.** [**quot**, how many + **diēs**, day], daily, every day.

**Cott•a, -ae, m.**, Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Crass•us, -ī, m.**, Marcus Licinius Crassus, (together with Pompey) political ally and supporter of Caesar, consul in 55 BCE, is



killed while leading the Parthian expedition of 53 BCE; (2) his younger son, Publius Licinius Crassus, who served as one of Caesar's lieutenants 58–56 BCE; died in battle with his father in Parthia in 53 BCE; and (3) an elder son, Marcus Licinius Crassus, who served as one of Caesar's quaestors after his brother left Gaul.

**crāt•es, -is, f.**, wickerwork; fascine (a bundle of sticks used for filling trenches).

**crēb•er, -ra, -rum, adj.**, thick, close, repeated, numerous, frequent, at short intervals. *Comp.*: **crēbrior**; *superl.*: **crēberrimus** (App. §40).

**crēd•ō, -ere, -idī, -itum**, believe, suppose; entrust.

**cremō, 1**, burn.

**cruciāt•us, -ūs, m.** [**cruciō**, torture; **crux**, cross (used for crucifixion)], torture, torment.

**culp•a, -ae, f.**, blame, fault, guilt.

**cult•us, -ūs, m.** [**colō**, cultivate], cultivation, civilization; mode of life, lifestyle; dress; religious worship.

**cum, conj.**, when, as, while; after, as soon as; whenever; since, because; although; **cum . . . tum**, not only . . . but also, both . . . and; **cum primum**, as soon as. *See* App. §§238–242. †

**cum, prep. with abl.**, with, along with, together with. †

**cūnctor, 1**, delay, hesitate, be reluctant.

**cupidē, adv.** [**cupidus**, desirous], desirously, eagerly.

**cupidi•tās, -tātis, f.** [**cupidus**, eager], eagerness, desire, greed, avarice.

**cupid•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**cupiō**, desire], eager, desirous, zealous, fond.

**cūrō, 1** [**cūra**, care], care for, take care of, provide for; *with gerundive* (App. §285, II, b.): have, order.

**curr•us, -ūs, m.**, chariot.

**curs•us, -ūs, m.** [**currō**, run], running, speed; course, career; passage, voyage.

## D.

**D., sign for quīngentī**, five hundred.

**d. = diem.**

**damnō, 1** [**damnum**, damage], declare guilty, sentence, condemn.

**dē, prep. with abl.**, originally expressing motion from; (1) of place, from, down from, away from, out of; (2) of time, just after, about; (3) variously translated in other relations, about, concerning, of, from, in accordance with, for. †  
**dēbeō, 2** [**dē + habeō**, have], have, or keep from someone: owe; *with inf.*: ought, must, have to; *pass.*: be due.

**dē•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go from or away, depart, withdraw, leave, forsake; die.



**decem (X)**, *indecl. card. number*, ten.

**dē•cernō, -cernere, -crēvī, -crētum** [**cernō**, separate; decide], decide, vote, decree.

**dēcliv•is, -e, adj.** [**clivus**, a slope], sloping downward, declining; *n. pl. as noun*: slopes.

**dē•decus, -oris, n.** [**decus**, honor], dishonor, disgrace.

**dēditus**, *see* **dēdō**.

**dē•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [**dō**, give], give up, give over, yield, surrender; devote; **sē dēdere**, submit, surrender.

**dē•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead down, lead away, withdraw; bring, conduct, lead; influence; launch (*ships*); give in marriage.

**dēfecti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**dēficiō**, fail], falling away, desertion, revolt.

**dēfēnsor, -is, m.** [**dēfendō**, defend], defender, protector; (*means of*) defense.

**dē•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], bring from, bring down, carry, take; report, disclose; bring before, refer; bestow, confer; **dēlātus** (*sometimes*), falling; coming by chance.

**dē•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], fail, desert, fall away, revolt.

**dē•figō, -figere, -fixī, -fixum** [**figō**, fix], fix or fasten down, drive in, plant.

**dē•fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitum** [**fugiō**, flee], flee from, run away, shun.

**dē•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl or cast down; dislodge; kill; foil, disappoint.

**deinceps**, *adv.*, one after the other, in turn, successively.

**deinde**, *adv.* [**dē + inde**, from there, thence], then, next, after this, thereupon.

**dēliberō, 1** [**libra**, balance], weigh well; consider, deliberate.

**dēligō, 1** [**ligō**, bind], bind or tie down, fasten, moor.

**dē•ligō, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [**legō**, choose], pick out, select, choose.

**dē•litēscō, -tēscere, -lituī, —** [**latēscō**, *inceptive of lateō*, lie hidden], hide oneself, lurk.

**dē•metō, -metere, -messuī, -messum** [**metō**, reap], mow, reap.

**dē•migrō, 1** [**migrō**, move, migrate], move from, move away, emigrate, remove.

**dē•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send, thrust, or let down; sink; bow (*one's head*); **sē dēmittere**, come or get down, descend; **sē animō dēmittere**, lose courage; **dēmīssus**, *perf. part. as adj.*: low.

**dēmō, dēmere, dēmpsi, dēemptum** [**dē + emō**, take], take down, remove.

**dēmōnstrō, 1** [**mōnstrō**, show], point out, show, explain, describe; declare, state, say.

**dēmum**, *adv.*, at length, at last, finally.

**dē•pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], drive from or away, ward off.

**dē•pōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum** [**pōnō**, put], lay down, put aside, put away, give up; place, station, deposit.

**dē•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], seize, capture, catch.

**dē•scendō, -scendere, -scendī, -scēnsu** [**scandō**, climb], climb down, go down, descend; have recourse (*to*), resort.

**dē•serō, -serere, -seruī, -sertum** [**serō**, entwine, join], disjoin; abandon, desert, forsake; **dēsertus**, *perf. part. as adj.*: deserted, solitary.

**dē•siliō, -silire, -siluī, -sultum** [**saliō**, jump], jump from, leap down, alight, dismount.

**dēspērāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**dēspērō**, despair], despair, hopelessness.

**dēspērō**, 1 [**spērō**, hope], despair, be hopeless, lack confidence; **dēspērātus**, *perf. part.*: despaired of; *as adj.*: desperate.

**de•sum, -esse, -fui**, — [**sum**, be. App. §66], be lacking, be absent from, fail.

**dēturbō**, 1 [**turbō**, disturb], drive off, dislodge.

**de•us, -ī** (*nom. pl.*: **diī**; *dat. pl.*: **dis**), *m.*, god.

**dē•vehō, -vehere, -vexī, -vectum** [**vehō**, carry], carry away, bring.

**dē•voveō, -vovēre, -vōvī, -vōtum** [**voveō**, vow], consecrate, devote; **dēvōtus**, *perf. part. as noun*: a sworn follower.

**dext•er, -ra, -rum**, *adj.*, on the right, right.

**dextra, -ae**, *f.* [**dexter**, right; *sc. manus*, hand], the right hand.

**dicō, dicere, dixī, dictum**, say, tell, speak, express, mention; name, appoint; **causam dicere**, plead a case; **iūs dicere**, administer justice. †

**d.** = *diem*.

**diēs, diēi**, *m. and f.*, day; time; **in diēs**, from day to day; **diem ex diē**, day after day. †

**differō, differre, distulī, dilātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], scatter, spread; put off, defer; be different, differ.

**difficil•is, -e**, *adj.* [**facilis**, easy], not easy, hard, troublesome, difficult.

**difficul•tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**difficilis**, difficult], difficulty, trouble, embarrassment.

**dif•fidō, -fidere, -fisi, -fisu** [**fidō**, trust. App. §74], distrust, lack confidence, despair.

**digni•tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**dignus**, worthy], worthiness, dignity, (*personal*) merit or worth, status, rank.

**diīudicō**, 1 [**iūdicō**, judge], decide.

**diligenter**, *adv.* [**diligēns**, careful], carefully; with exactness, pains, *or* care.

**diligenti•a**, -ae, *f.* [**diligēns**, careful], carefulness, painstaking care.

**dī•ligō**, -ligere, -lēgī, -lēctum [**legō**, choose], choose *or* single out, esteem highly, love.

**dīmīcō**, 1 [**micō**, brandish], fight, struggle, contend.

**dī•mittō**, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum [**mittō**, send], send in different directions, send away, send off, dismiss; break up; let go, let slip, let pass, give up, lose.

**Dīs**, **Dītis**, *m.*, Dis, the god Pluto, god of the underworld.

**dīs**, *see deus*.

**dis-** (**dī-**, **dif-**, **dir-**), *inseparable prefix*, apart, asunder, in different directions; *negative: equivalent to English un-*, not.

**dis•cēdō**, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum [**cēdō**, go], go away, depart, retire; leave (*especially with ab or ex*). †

**disciplin•a**, -ae, *f.* [**discō**, learn], learning, discipline; instruction, teaching; system.

**discō**, **discere**, **didicī**, —, learn, be taught.

**dī•spergō**, -spergere, -spersī, -spersum [**spargō**, scatter], scatter, disperse.

**dis•pōnō**, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum [**pōnō**, put], place apart, place about; distribute, arrange, station.

**disputāti•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [**disputō**, discuss], argument, discussion.

**disputō**, 1 [**putō**, reckon], discuss, debate about.

**dissensi•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [**dissentiō**, think differently], disagreement, dissension.

**dis•sentiō**, -sentīre, -sēnsī, -sēnsus [**sentiō**, feel], differ, disagree.

**dis•tribuō**, -tribuere, -tribuī, -tribūtum [**tribuō**, assign], assign, divide, distribute.

**distulī**, *see differō*.

**dītissimus**, *superl. of dives*.

**diū**, *adv.*, for a long time, long; **quam diū**, as long as; *comp.*: **diūtius**, longer, too long, any longer; *superl.*: **diūtissimē**, for the longest time.

**dīves**, **dīvītis**, *adj.*, rich, wealthy; *superl.*: **dītissimus**.

**Dīviciāc•us**, -ī, *m.*, Diviciacus, a leader of the Aedui, friendly to the Romans. Caesar pardons Dumnorix at his request.

**dī•vidō**, -videre, **dīvīsī**, **dīvīsum**, divide, distribute, separate; **dīvīsus**, *perf. part. as adj.*: divided, distributed, separated.

**dīvīn•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [**dīvus**, divine], of the gods, divine, sacred.

**dō**, **dare**, **dedī**, **datum** (App. §85), give, bestow, present, grant, furnish; offer; yield, give up; **in fugam dare**, put to flight; **dare manūs**, yield; **dare negōtium**,

with *dat.*: employ, engage, direct. (Some compounds of **dō** are derived from an obs. verb, **dō**, put.) †

**doceō, docēre, docuī, docitum**, show, teach, instruct, inform.

**dol-or, -ōris**, *m.* [**doleō**, grieve], grief, distress, pain (*physical or mental*), anguish, annoyance.

**domin-us, -ī**, *m.*, master.

**dom-us, -ūs** (App. §29, *d.*), *f.*, house; home; native country.

**dōs, dōtis**, *f.* [**dō**, give], a marriage present, dowry.

**Druid-ēs, -um**, *m.*, the Druids, the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain.

**dubitāti-ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**dubitō**, doubt], doubt, uncertainty; hesitation.

**dubitō**, 1 [**dubius**, doubtful], be uncertain, doubt; hesitate, delay.

**dubi-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, uncertain, doubtful.

**dūcō, dūcere, dūxī, ductum**, lead, conduct, guide, draw; bring, fetch; trace, construct, extend; deem, consider, judge; protract, defer. †

**dum**, *conj.*, while, as long as; till, until. †

**Dumnor-ix, -īgis**, *m.*, Dumnorix, a leader of the Aeduians, brother of Diviciacus, son-in-law of Orgetorix, enemy of Caesar, and leader of the anti-Roman party. Caesar orders his execution in 54 BCE when he tries to escape.

**du-o, -ae, -a** (App. §49), *card.* num. and *adj.*, two. †

**duodecim**, *card.* number and *adj.* [**duo**, two + **decem**, ten], twelve.

**dūr-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, hard, rough, harsh, difficult, dangerous; severe, inclement.

**dux, ducis**, *m.* [**dūcō**, lead], leader, commander, general; guide.

## E.

**ē** (only before consonants), **ex** (before vowels and some consonants), *prep.* with *abl.*, originally expressing motion out of; (1) of place, out of, from, away from; expressing position, in some phrases, on; **ūnā ex parte**, on one side; (2) of time, from, after, since; **ex itinere**, immediately after the march; (3) variously translated in other relations: from, out of, of, because of, in accordance with; **ē regiōne**, opposite. †

**eā**, *adv.* [= **eā viā**], by that way, there.

**Eburōn-ēs, -um**, *m.*, the Eburones, a Belgic people who in 54 BCE destroyed troops under the command of Sabinus and Cotta. Afterwards, Caesar almost exterminated them.

**ē-discō, -discere, -didicī**, — [**discō**, learn], learn thoroughly, learn by heart.

**ē-dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead out, lead forth; draw (a sword).

**effeminō**, 1 [**ex** + **fēmina**, woman], make effeminate, weaken.

**efferrō, efferre, extulī, ēlātum** [**ex** + **ferō**, carry. App. §81], bring or carry out, carry or take away; raise; spread around, publish widely, make known; elate, puff up.

**ef·ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make], make or do completely, complete, accomplish, construct; make, cause, bring about, render.

**ef·fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, —** [**fugiō**, flee], flee from, run away, escape.

**ēgī**, see **agō**.

**egō, meī** (App. §51), *first pers. pron.*, I, me; *pl. nōs*, we, us, etc.

**ē·gredior, -gredī, -gressus sum** [**gradior**, step], step out, go out, come forth, depart; march out, make a sortie; land (*from a ship*), disembark.

**eiusmodī**, of such a sort or kind, such.

**ē·mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], let go, send out or forth, release; hurl, discharge; drop.

**enim, conj.**, in fact, really; for; **sed enim**, but in fact, however.

**ē·nūntiō**, 1 [**nūntiō**, announce], report, declare, disclose.

**eō, ire, iī (ivī), itum** (App. §84), go, proceed, march, pass.

**eō**, *abl.* of **is**.

**eō**, *adv.* [*old dat. of is*], to that place, there (*in the sense of thither*), to the place (*where, etc.*), to them (*it, him, etc.*).

**eōdem**, *adv.* [*old dat. of idem*], to the same place, to the same point (result, purpose, etc.).

**epistol·a, -ae, f.**, letter, epistle.

**equ·es, -itis, m.** [**equus**, horse], a horseman, a rider; *pl.*: cavalry. Roman society was organized by class or income levels. Originally, those who could afford their own horse were assigned to the cavalry. In Caesar's day, rich men who belonged to this class, even if they did not serve in the cavalry, were called equestrians. Rich Gauls were also called equestrians. †

**equitāt·us, -ūs, m.** [**equus**, horse], cavalry, horseman. †

**equ·us, -ī, m.**, horse. †

**ē·ripiō, -ripere, -ripuī, -reptum** [**rapiō**, seize], take away, wrest from, extort, deprive; rescue, relieve, save.

**errō**, 1, wander; err, be mistaken.

**essedāri·us, -a, -um, adj.**

[**essedum**, war chariot], a soldier who fought from a two-wheeled British war chariot.

**essed·um, -ī, n.**, a two-wheeled war chariot used by the Britons.

**Esuvi·ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Esuvii, a people in northwestern Gaul.

**et, conj.**, and; also, too, even; **et . . .**

**et**, both . . . and. †

**etiam, conj.**, and also, also, even, yet. †

**etsī**, *conj.* [et + sī, if], even if, although.

**ē•veniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventum** [veniō, come], turn out, result.

**ēvent•us, -ūs**, *m.* [ēveniō, turn out], outcome, issue, result, consequence.

**ex**, *see* ē. †

**ex•animō**, 1 [anima, breath], deprive of breath, render breathless, exhaust; kill.

**ex•audiō**, 4 [audiō, hear], hear (*from a distance*).

**ex•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], go out, go away, withdraw, retire.

**ex•cellō, -cellere, —, —**, excel, surpass.

**excitō**, 1 [citō, rouse], call forth, excite, animate, arouse; erect, construct (*towers*); kindle (*fires*).

**excōgitō**, 1 [cōgitō, think], think out, contrive, devise, invent.

**excruciō**, 1 [cruciō, torture; **crux**, cross (*used for crucifixion*)], torture severely, torment.

**ex•eō, -īre, -īī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], go from, go out, depart from, leave.

**exercitāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [*frequentative of* **exercitō**, *from* **exerceō**, exercise], exercise, training, practice, experience.

**exercit•us, -ūs**, *m.* [exerceō, exercise], *a trained or disciplined body of men, an army.* †

**ex•hauriō, -haurīre, -hausī, -haustum** [hauriō, drain], draw out, empty.

**exigui•tās, -tātis**, *f.* [exiguus, scanty], scantiness, meagerness, shortness, dearth, want.

**exīstimāti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [exīstimō, estimate], judgement, opinion.

**exīstimō**, 1 [aestimō, reckon], estimate, reckon, think, consider. †

**exit•us, -ūs**, *m.* [exeō, go out], a going out, exit, passage; issue, result, end.

**expediō**, 4 [pēs, foot], set free; arrange, prepare.

**expedit•us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [*perf. part. of* **expediō**, set free], unimpeded, free, unobstructed; without baggage; light armed; *as noun*: a light-armed soldier.

**ex•pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum** [pellō, drive], drive out, drive forth, expel.

**explōrō**, 1, search or find out, investigate, spy out, reconnoiter.

**ex•sequor, -sequī, secūtus sum** [sequor, follow], follow out, enforce.

**ex•sistō, -sistere, stitī, —** [sistō, stand], stand or come forth, appear, arise; ensue.

**exspectō**, 1 [spectō, look at], look out for, await, expect; wait to see; anticipate, apprehend.

**ex•stinguō, -stinguere, -stīnxī, -stīnctum**, put out, quench; destroy.

**ex•struō, -struere, -strūxī, -strūctum** [struō, build], build or pile up; construct, build.

**extrā**, *adv. and prep. with acc.*, out of, outside of, beyond, without.

**extrēm•us, -a, -um**, *adj. [superl. of exterus. App. §44]*, outermost, utmost, farthest, extreme; the farthest part of; **extrēmī** (*as noun*), the rear ("the ones at the back"); **ad extrēmum**, at last, at the end; as a last resort.

**ex•ūrō, -ūrere, -ussī, -ustum** [**ex** + **ūro**, burn], burn up.

## F.

**Fab•ius, -ī, m.** (1) Quintus Fabius Maximus, victor over the Gallic Allobroges, Arverni, and Ruteni, in 121 BCE, after which he was also called Allobricus. (2) Gaius Fabius, one of Caesar's lieutenants. (3) Lucius Fabius, a centurion of the 8th legion; killed at Gergovia.

**facile**, *adv. [facilis, easy]*, easily, readily. *Comp.: facilius; superl.: facillimē* (App. §41). †

**facil•is, -e, adj.** [**faciō**, do], easy. †

**fac•iō, -ere, fēcī, factum**, make, construct, form, do, execute (*commands, etc.*); give (*opportunity, etc.*); with **ut**, bring about, cause; *intransitive*: do, act. *Pass.: fīō, fierī, factus sum* (App. §83), with *pass. meanings*, and, *used impers.*, result, happen, come to pass. †

**facin•us, -oris, n.** [**faciō**, do], deed; misdeed, outrage, crime.

**facul•tās, -tātis, f.** [**facilis**, easy], power; opportunity, chance; resources, supply.

**fals•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*perf. part. of fallō*, deceive], false.

**falx, falcis, f.**, sickle, pruning hook; hook (*for pulling down walls*).

**fām•a, -ae, f.** [**fārī**, to speak], common talk, rumor, report, reputation, fame.

**fam•ēs, -is, f.**, starvation, hunger.

**famili•a, -ae, f.**, household (*including slaves*); retinue (*including all dependents*); family.

**familiār•is, -e, adj.** [**familia**, household], personal, private; *as noun*: intimate friend; **rēs familiāris**, personal property, estate.

**fās, n., indeclin.**, divine law, religiously correct, right, proper, permissible. *Compare: iūs*, human law.

**fem•ur, -oris or -inis, n.**, the thigh.

**ferē, adv.**, almost, nearly, about, for the most part. †

**ferō, ferre, tulī, lātum** (App. §81), carry, bear, bring; endure, suffer, support, withstand; receive; tell, report, give, render (*aid*); offer, propose (*terms*); **graviter** or **molestē ferre**, be annoyed or angry at; *passive (sometimes)* rush. *In the intransitive, almost = verb to be.* †

**ferrāment•um, -ī, n.** [**ferrum**, iron], an iron tool or implement.



- ferr•um, -i, n.**, iron; tool; sword.  
**ferve•faciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factum** [**ferveō**, be red hot + **faciō**, make], heat, melt.  
**ferv•ēns, -entis, adj.** [*pres. part.* of **ferveō**, be red hot], heated, glowing, hot.  
**fid•ēs, -eī, f.** [**fidō**, confide], faith, confidence; faithfulness, loyalty, trustworthiness; allegiance, protection, dependence; pledge, assurance; **fīdem facere**, convince or give a pledge; **fīdem sequī**, surrender.  
**figūr•a, -ae, f.** [**figō**, form], form, shape, figure.  
**fili•a, -ae, f.**, daughter.  
**fil•ius, -ī, m.**, son.  
**fīniō, 4** [**fīnis**, limit], limit, bound; determine, measure.  
**fin•is, -is, m.**, boundary, limit, border, end; *pl.* boundaries; territory, country. †  
**finitim•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**fīnis**, limit], bordering on, adjoining, neighboring.  
**fīō, fierī, factus sum**, *see* **faciō**.  
**firmiter, adv.** [**fīrmus**, firm], firmly.  
**fīrm•us, -a, -um, adj.**, strong, stable, vigorous, firm.  
**flamm•a, -ae, f.**, fire, blaze.  
**flectō, flectere, flexī, flectum**, bend, turn, direct.  
**flēt•us, -ūs, m.** [**fleō**, weep], weeping, lamentation.  
**flūct•us, -ūs, m.** [**fluō**, flow], flood, billow, wave.  
**flūm•en, -inis, n.** [**fluō**, flow], river, stream. †  
**fluō, fluere, flūxī, —**, flow, run.  
**fore = futūrum esse**, *see* **sum**. †  
**fort•is, -e, adj.**, strong, brave.  
**fortitūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**fortis**, brave], bravery, courage.  
**fortūn•a, -ae, f.** [**fors**, chance], fortune, luck, chance, opportunity, lot, condition; good fortune, success, property, estate. *All fortuna was the domain of the goddess Fortuna, a deity Caesar and his troops cultivated with great devotion.*  
**foss•a, -ae, f.** [*perf. part.* of **fodiō**, dig], trench, ditch.  
**frangō, frangere, frēgī, frāctum**, break, wreck; crush, discourage.  
**frāt•er, -ris, m.**, brother.  
**fremit•us, -ūs, m.**, confusion, noise, uproar.  
**frūct•us, -ūs, m.** [**fruor**, enjoy], fruit; profit, reward.  
**frūmentāri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**frūmentum**, grain], of or pertaining to grain; *of places*, fruitful, productive of grain; **rēs frūmentāria**, grain supply, provisions.  
**frūmentor, 1** [**frūmentum**, grain], get grain, forage.  
**frūment•um, -ī, n.**, grain; *pl.*: crops. †  
**fug•a, -ae, f.**, flight; **in fugam conicere** or **dare**, put to flight.  
**fūm•us, -ī, m.**, smoke.  
**fund•a, -ae, f.**, sling.  
**fūn•is, -is, m.**, rope, cable.



**fūn•us, -eris, n.,** funeral.

**fūrt•um, -ī, n.,** theft.

**fūsil•is, -e, adj.** [**fundō**, pour],  
liquid, molten.

## G.

**Gabin•ius, -ī, m.,** Aulus Gabinus,  
consul with Lucius Calpurnius  
Piso in 58 BCE.

**Ga•ius, -ī, m.,** a Roman first name,  
abbreviated **C.**

**Galli•a, -ae, f.,** Gaul. †

**Gallic•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**Gallia**,  
Gaul], pertaining to Gaul or the  
Gauls, Gallic.

**Gall•us, -a, -um, adj.,** of Gaul,  
Gallic; *pl. as noun:* the Gauls,  
inhabiting Gaul, Northern Italy,  
etc. †

**Garumn•a, -ae, m.,** the Garumna  
or Garonne, a river that formed  
the boundary between Aquitania  
and Celtic Gaul.

**Geidumn•ī, -ōrum, m.,** the  
Geidumni, a people of Belgic  
Gaul, clients of the Nervii.

**Genav•a, -ae, f.,** Genava, a city  
belonging to the Allobroges on the  
shores of Lacus Lemanus; now  
called Geneva.

**gen•us, -eris, n.,** descent, origin,  
race, class, tribe, family; kind,  
nature. †

**Germān•ī, -ōrum, m.,** the  
Germani or the Germans. †

**ger•ō, -ere, gessī, gestum,** carry,  
bear, wield; (*of war*) carry on,  
perform, wage, conduct; *pass.:*  
be done, go on, occur. †

**glad•ius, -ī, m.,** sword.

**glān•s, -dis, f.,** acorn; ball, slug of  
lead.

**glōri•a, -ae, f.,** glory, renown,  
honor, fame, reputation.

**Gnae•us, -ī, m.,** a Roman first  
name, abbreviated **Cn.**

**Graec•us, -a, -um, adj.,** of or  
belonging to the Greeks, Greek;  
*pl. as noun:* the Greeks.

**grāti•a, -ae, f.** [**grātus**, pleasing],  
favor, goodwill, gratitude,  
esteem, influence, popularity;  
**grātiās agere**, thank; **grātiām**  
**habēre**, to feel grateful;  
**grātiām referre**, to return a  
favor; **hanc grātiām referre**,  
to return a favor in this way;  
**grātiām inīre**, to gain favor;  
**grātiā**, *following a gen.:* for the  
purpose of, in order to.

**grav•is, -e, adj.,** heavy, oppressive,  
hard, severe, serious; advanced  
(*in years*). †

**Grudi•ī, -ōrum, m.,** the Grudii, a  
Belgic people near the Nervii.

## H.

**hab•eō, -ēre, -uī, -itum,**  
have, hold, possess; think,  
consider, regard; deliver (*with*  
**ōrātiōnem**); **in animō habēre**,  
intend; **ratiōnem habēre**, have  
regard for; take care or see  
that (*followed by an ut clause*);  
**cōsiliū habēre**, form a plan;  
**in numerō hostium habēre**,  
consider as enemies; **aliter sē**  
**habēre**, be otherwise or be

different; for **habēre** with the *perf. pass. part.*, e.g., **vectigālia redempta habēre**, see App.

§286, b. †

**Helveti-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, of the Helvetii, Helvetians; *as noun*: one of the Helvetii, a Helvetian; *pl.*: the Helvetii or Helvetians. †

**heredi-tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**hērēs**, heir], inheritance.

**hibern-a, -ōrum**, *n.* [*deriving from the adj. that modified castra*, fortified camp], winter camp, winter quarters. †

**hic, haec, hoc**, *demonstrative pron.* (App. §54), *used for what is close in space, time, or thought*: this, this man, this woman, this thing; he, she, it (*more emphatic than is, ea, id*); *abl. sing.* **hōc**, on this account, in this respect; the (*with comparatives*); **hic . . . ille**, the latter . . . the former. See App. §170, a. †

**hiemō**, 1 [**hiems**, winter], pass the winter, winter.

**hiem-s, -is**, *f.*, wintertime, winter.

**hinc**, *adv.*, from that point or place, hence.

**Hispāni-a, -ae**, *f.*, Hispania, Spain.

**Hispān-us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, Spanish.

**hom-ō, -inis**, *m.*, human being, person (*as opposed to animals*); *pl.*: humankind, humanity. †

**honest-us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [**honōs**, honor], honorable, worthy, distinguished, eminent.

**hon-ōs, -ōris**, *m.*, honor, regard, glory, distinction; honorable position, office.

**hōr-a, -ae**, *f.*, hour. *There were twenty-four hours in the Roman day, but they divided those hours into twelve hours of light and twelve hours of darkness (between sunrise and sunset). Except at the equinoxes, the hours were thus not of equal length, and varied according to the season.*

**hortor**, 1, exhort, encourage, incite, urge strongly.

**hospit-ium, -i**, *n.* [**hospes**, host or guest], the reciprocal relationship that exists between a host and a guest; friendship, hospitality.

**host-is, -is**, *m. or f.*, (*public*) enemy, enemy combatant (*as opposed to inimicus*, a personal enemy); *pl.*: the enemy. †

**hūc**, *adv.* [*from hic*, this], to this place, hither, here; against these, to these.

**hūmāni-tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**hūmānus**, human], humanity, culture, refinement.

**hūmān-us, -a, -um**, *adv.*, human; civilized, cultured, refined, cultivated.

**humil-is, -e**, *adj.* [**humus**, the ground], on the ground; low, humble, abject, weak.

**humili-tās, -tātis**, *f.* [**humilis**, low], humility, lowness; weakness.

**I.**

**iac•eō, -ēre, iacuī, —**, lie; lie slain or slaughtered.

**iaciō, iacere, iēcī, iactum**, throw, cast, hurl; (*of an agger, rampart*), throw up or together, construct.

**iacul•um, -ī, n.** [**iaciō**, throw], javelin, spear, dart.

**iam, adv.**, now, at this time; already, by this time, at last; really, indeed, even; **neque iam** or **iam nōn**, no longer; **ubi iam**, as soon as.

**ibi, adv.**, there, in that place.

**Id.**, *abbr.* of **Idūs**.

**idem, eadem, idem** (App. §58), *demon. pron.* [**is**, this, that], the same; this very; **idem atque**, the same as. †

**idōne•us, -a, -um, adj.**, fit, suitable, adapted.

**Id•ūs, -uum, f. pl.**, the Ides: the 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of other months.

**ign•is, -is, m.**, fire.

**ignōbil•is, -e, adj.** [**in** + (**g**) **nōbilis**, well-known], unknown, undistinguished, obscure.

**ign•nōscō, -nōscere, -nōvī, -nōtum** [**in** + (**g**) **nōscēns**, knowing (*from nōscō*, know)], forgive, pardon.

**ignōt•us, -a, -um, adv.** [**in** + (**g**) **nōtus**, known (**nōscō**, know)], unknown, unfamiliar.

**illātus**, *see* **īnferō**.

**ille, illa, illud, gen. illius, dat.**

**illi** (App. §56), *demon. pron.* (*of what is remote in time, place, thought, etc.; compare hic*), that, that man, that woman, that thing; he, she, it; **hic . . . ille**, the latter . . . the former, *see* App. §170, a. †

**illigō, 1** [**ligō**, bind], attach, hold together, bind together.

**illūstr•is, -e, adj.**, distinguished, illustrious.

**immān•is, -e, adj.**, huge, immense.

**im•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send or let into, insert; send against, direct toward or against; **trabibus immissis**, beams placed between.

**immolō, 1**, sacrifice.

**immortāl•is, -e, adj.** [**in** + **mortālīs**, mortal], not mortal, immortal, deathless.

**immūni•tās, -tātis, f.** [**in** + **mūnis**, burden], freedom from public burdens, duties, or taxes; exemption.

**impediment•um, -ī, n.** [**impediō**, hinder], hindrance, obstacle, impediment; *pl.*: baggage, luggage (*of an army*), baggage-train (*including pack animals*).

**impediō, 4** [**in** + **pēs**, foot], entangle the feet, hamper, obstruct, hinder, impede, delay.

**im•pellō, -pellere, -puli, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], drive or urge on, incite, instigate, impel.

**im•pendeō, -pendere, —, —** [**in** + **pendeō**, hang], overhang, impend.

**imperāt•or, -ōris, m.** [**imperō**, order], commander-in-chief, general.

**imperit•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **peritus**, experienced], inexperienced, unskilled, ignorant.

**imper•ium, -ī, n.** [**imperō**, order], right to command; authority, supreme power; jurisdiction, dominion, sovereignty; supreme military command, highest official power; command, order.

**imperō**, 1 [**in** + **parō**, procure], demand from, requisition; command, order, instruct, rule.

**impetrō**, 1, obtain (*by request*), accomplish, succeed in obtaining (*one's request*); **impetrāre ā (ab)**, gain permission from, persuade.

**impet•us, -ūs, m.**, attack, onset, charge; impetuosity, force, vehemence.

**impi•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **pīus**, loyal], *without reverence for gods, parents, country*: ungodly, disrespectful, unpatriotic, wicked.

**importō**, 1 [**in** + **portō**, carry], carry *or* bring in, import.

**imprōvisō**, *adv.* [**imprōvisus**, unforeseen], unexpectedly, without warning.

**imprōvis•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **prōvisus**, foreseen], unforeseen, unexpected; **dē imprōvisō**, unexpectedly, suddenly.

**imprudenti•a, -ae, f.** [**imprūdēns**, imprudent], imprudence, lack of foresight *or* forethought, ignorance, indiscretion.

**impuls•us, -ūs, m.** [**impellō**, impel], impulse, instigation.

**in**, *prep. with acc. and abl. With acc.:* (1) *of motion, from one place into or toward another place*, into, to; in, among; toward, for, against; at; upon; (2) *of time*, till, into; for; on, at; and (3) *other uses*, in, in respect to, for, under, over, on; **in diēs**, from day to day; **in fugam conicere**, to put to flight; **in Caesarem incidere**, meet with Caesar; **summum in cruciātum venīre**, be punished with the severest torture. *With abl.:* (1) *of place where or motion within a place*, in, among, over, within, throughout, on, upon; (2) *of time*, in, during, in the course of; on; and (3) *other uses*, in, in the case of; in consequence of, in view of; on, upon; **in Ararī**, over the Arar; **in eō**, in his case; **in ancorīs**, at anchor; **in opere esse**, be engaged in the work. †

**incend•ium, -ī, n.** [**incendō**, burn], fire, burning, conflagration.

**in•cendō, -cendere, -cendī, -cēnsūm**, set fire to, burn; inflame, excite.

**incert•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **certus**, decided], undecided, uncertain, untrustworthy; indefinite, vague; disordered.

**in•cidō, -cidere, -cidī, —** [**ad** + **cadō**, fall], fall into or upon; fall in with, meet; happen, arise.

**in•cīdō, -cīdere, -cīsī, -cīsum** [**caedō**, cut], cut into.

**in•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum** [**ad** + **capiō**, take], undertake; begin, commence.

**incitō**, 1 [**citō**, put in motion], set in motion; excite, arouse, urge on, stimulate; exasperate; **cursū incitātō**, at full speed.

**incognit•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **cognitus**, known], unknown.

**incol•ō, -ere, -uī, —** [**colō**, cultivate], inhabit, dwell in, live in.

**incolum•is, -e, adj.**, unhurt, uninjured, safe and sound, unimpaired.

**incommodē, adv.** [**incommodus**, inconvenient], inconveniently.

**incommod•um, -ī, n.** [**incommodus**, inconvenient], inconvenience, disadvantage, trouble; disaster, defeat, loss, injury.

**incrēdibil•is, -e, adj.** [**in** + **crēdibilis**, believable], unbelievable, incredible, unlikely; extraordinary.

**inde, adv.**, from that place, thence; then, thereupon.

**indic•ium, -ī, n.** [**indicō**, disclose], disclosure, information; **per indicium**, through informers.

**indign•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **dignus**, worthy], unworthy, disgraceful.

**in•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead or draw on, induce; influence, instigate; cover.

**Indutiomār•us, -ī, m.,**

Indutiomarus, a leader of the Treveri, rival to Cingetorix, and hostile to Caesar.

**in•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go.

App. §84], go into; enter upon, begin; **inīre cōsilium**, form;

**inīre ratiōnem**, make an estimate, decide; **inīre grātiām**, gain favor; **inīre numerum**, enumerate.

**infer•ior, -ius, comp.** of **īnferus**.

**in•ferō, inferre, intulī, illātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry into, import, inflict, cause, produce; cast into; **in equum inferre**, mount on a horse; **causā illātā**, making an excuse; **signa inferre**, advance the standards, attack.

**infer•us, -a, -um, adj.**, low, below; *comp.*: **inferior**, lower, inferior; **ab inferiōre parte**, below, downstream; *superl.*: **īnfirmus** or **īmus**, lowest, last with **collis** (hill), the base of; **ad īnfirmum, ab īnfirmō**, at the bottom.

**inimic•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **amicus**, friendly], unfriendly, hostile; *as a noun*: personal enemy, rival; *as opposed to* **hostis**, public enemy.

**iniqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**in** + **aequus**, even, just], uneven; unjust, unfair; unfavorable, disadvantageous.

**init-ium, -ī, n.** [**ineō**, go into], beginning, commencement, origin; edge of a country, borders.

**iniūri-a, -ae, f.** [**in + iūs**, right], wrong, injustice; outrage, injury, harm, damage, violence.

**iniussū, abl. of iniussus, -ūs, m.** [**iubeō**, order], without command or order.

**innoc-ēns, -entis, adj.** [**in + nocēns**, harmful], not harmful, innocent.

**inopi-a, -ae, f.** [**inops**, needy], need, lack, poverty; lack of provisions, hunger.

**inqu-am, -is, -it, def. verb used only with direct quotations and following one or more of the words in the quotation, say.**

**in-sequor, -sequī, -secūtus sum** [**sequor**, follow], follow up, follow after, follow close behind, pursue.

**insidi-ae, -ārum, f. pl.** [**sedeō**, sit], a sitting or lying in wait; ambush; treachery; artifice, trick, crafty device.

**insinuō, 1** [**sinuō**, wind], wind into; make one's way into, penetrate.

**in-sistō, -sistere, -stitī, —** [**sistō**, stand], stand upon; stand firm, take a stand; press on, pursue; with **rationem**, adopt, use.

**in-stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitūtum** [**statuō**, set up], set up or put in order, draw up; train, educate; procure,

prepare; build, construct; begin, determine, decide upon, adopt; **institūtus, perf. part. as adj.** (in addition to the definitions above): usual, customary; finished.

**institūt-um, -ī, n.**, established plan or principle; custom, institution, habit.

**in-stō, -stāre, -stitī, -stātum** [**stō**, stand], stand upon or near, be at hand, press on; threaten.

**instrūment-um, -ī, n.** [**instruō**, build], build upon, build, construct; form, draw up in battle array; equip, furnish.

**insuēfact-us, -a, -um, adj.** [**suēscō**, become accustomed, **faciō**, make], accustomed, trained.

**insul-a, -ae, f.**, island.

**intel-legō, -legere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [**inter + legō**, choose, select], select or distinguish between; understand; know; see, perceive, realize; find out, learn.

**inter, prep. with acc.** (sometimes follows its noun), (1) of place, among, between; (2) of time, during, within, for; (3) in other relations, among, between, in; in among or between, in; in among, between; to; over; along with; (4) with reflex. pron., of reciprocal action (App. §166), with, to, or from each other or one another, as **inter**

**sē differunt**, differ from one another; each other, one another, *as*, **cohortāti inter sē**, encouraging one another. †

**inter•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [cēdō, go], go or come between, lie between, intervene, be between; pass.

**inter•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum** [ad + capiō, take], take or catch between (*one point and another*); interrupt; intercept; cut off.

**inter•clūdō, -clūdere, -clūsī, -clūsum** [claudō, shut], shut or cut off, separate, hinder; *with itinera*, block.

**inter•dicō, -dicere, -dixī, -dictum** [dicō, say], prohibit, exclude, forbid, interdict; **aquā atque ignī interdīcere**, *forbid the use of fire and water*, exile, banish.

**intereā, adv.**, in the meantime, meanwhile.

**inter•eō, -īre, -īī, -itum** [eō, go. App. §84], perish, die.

**inter•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [faciō, make], make away with, kill, destroy. †

**interim, adv.**, meanwhile, in the meantime. †

**interit•us, -ūs, m.** [intereō, die], destruction, death.

**inter•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [mittō, send], send between; intervene, separate; abate, cease, let up, discontinue; delay, neglect, omit; let pass.

**inter•pōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum** [pōnō, put], place between, interpose; allege; cause; **fidem interpōnere**, pledge.

**interpr•es, -etis, m. or f.**, interpreter; mediator.

**interpretor, 1** [interpretēs, interpreter], interpret, explain.

**inter•sum, -esse, -fui, —** [sum, be. App. §66], be or lie between, intervene; be present *at*, take part *in*; *impers.*: **interest**, it concerns, it is important; there is a difference or an interval; **magnī interest**, it is of great importance.

**intrā, prep. with acc.** [inter, between], within, inside, into.

**intrō•eō, -īre, -īī, -itum** [intrō, within + eō, go. App. §84], go or come in, enter.

**intus, adv.**, within, on the inside.

**inūsītāt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [in + ūsītātus, usual], unusual, uncommon, strange, startling.

**inūtil•is, -e, adj.** [in + ūtilis, useful], useless, worthless, disadvantageous.

**invent•or, -ōris, m.** [inveniō, find], inventor, author.

**in•veterāscō, -veterāscere, -veterāvī, -veterātum**, grow old; become established.

**Iovis, see Iuppiter.**

**ipse, ipsa, ipsum, gen., ipsius** (App. §59), intensive pron., self (*as opposed to, someone else*); himself, herself, itself,



themselves; he, she, it, they; *as adj.*, very; *in gen.*, his, her, its, or their own. (*Not reflexive; for the reflexive pron., compare sē, self, App. §163.*) †

**ir-rumpō, -rumpere, -rūpsī, -rūptum** [*in* + **rumpō**, break], break into, rush into; force a way into, storm.

**is, ea, id**, *gen. eius* (App. §57), *weak dem. pron. referring to some person or object named in the context*, this, that, these, those; he, she, it, they; the, a; **is locus quō**, a or the place where; **ea quae**, (the) things which; **eō**, *with comp.*, the; **eō magis**, all the more; **eō . . . quō**, *with comp.*: the . . . the. †

**ita**, *adv.*, so, thus, in this way; as follows; **ut . . . ita**, in proportion as . . . in such proportion as / as . . . so; **nōn ita**, not so very, not very; **ita . . . ut**, just . . . as / so . . . that. †  
**itaque**, *conj.* [**ita**, so], and so, therefore.

**Itali•a, -ae, f.**, Italy, *generally Italy below Cisalpine Gaul*.

**item**, *adv.*, in like manner, so, also, just so.

**iter, itineris, n.** [**eō**, go], route, road; journey, march; passage;  
**iter facere**, march, travel;  
**magnis itineribus**, by forced marches. †

**iubeō, iubēre, iussī, iussum**, order, command, enjoin, bid. †

**iūdic•ium, -ī, n.** [**iūdex**, judge], judicial proceedings, trial; opinion, judgement; **iūdicium**

**facere**, express an opinion;  
**iūdicīō**, by design, purposely.

**iūdicō**, 1 [**iūdex**, judge], pass judgement on, judge, sentence, decide, determine, think, consider.

**iug•um, -ī, n.** [**iungō**, join], yoke; ridge, crest.

**iument•um, -ī, n.** [**iungō**, join, yoke], yoke, draft, or pack animal, beast of burden.

**Iun•ius, -ī, m.**, Quintus Junius, a Spaniard who served in Caesar's army.

**Iuppiter, Iovis, n.** (App. §27), *m.*, Jupiter, chief god of the Roman state.

**Iūr•a, -ae, m.**, the Jura mountains which stretched from the Rhine to the Rhone, separating the Helvetians from the Sequani.

**iūs, iūris, n.**, human law, law, justice, right; rights, power, authority. *Compare: fās*, divine law.

**iūs iurandum, iūris iurandi, n.** [**iūs**, right + **iūrō**, swear], an oath.

**iūstiti•a, -ae, f.** [**iūstus**, just], justice, fair dealing, uprightness.

**iūst•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**iūs**, right], in accordance with law or right; lawful, valid, just, fair; proper, regular; *with fūnera*, appropriate, fitting, proper.

**iuvent•ūs, -ūtis, f.** [**iūvenis**, young], period of youth, *from seventeen to forty-five years*; the youth, the young men.



**K.**

**Kal.**, *abbr. for Kalend•ae, -ārum*,  
f., the Kalends, the first day of the  
Roman month.

**L.**

**L.**, *abbr. for Lūcius*, Lucius, a  
Roman praenomen.

**L.**, *sign for quīnquāgintā*, fifty.

**Labien•us, -ī, m.**, Titus Atius  
Labienus, Caesar's most trusted  
lieutenant in the Gallic War.  
During the Civil War, Labienus  
fought on Pompey's side, and died  
in battle against Caesar in Munda  
(in Spain) in 45 BCE.

**lab•or, -ōris, m.**, toil, effort,  
striving, hardship.

**lābor, lābī, lāpsus sum**, slip;  
go wrong; **hāc spē lāpsus**,  
disappointed in this hope.

**labōrō**, 1 [**lābor**, toil], work hard,  
toil; be anxious, troubled, or  
perplexed; labor, suffer, be hard  
pressed.

**laccess•ō, -ere, -īvī, -itum**, arouse,  
harass, provoke, irritate, attack.

**lac•us, -ūs, m.**, lake.

**laetiti•a, -ae, f.** [**laetus**, joyful],  
joy, rejoicing.

**langu•or, -ōris, m.**, weakness,  
faintness.

**lap•is, -idis, m.**, stone.

**lāpsus**, *see lābor*.

**lātē**, *adv.* [**lātus**, wide], widely,  
extensively; **longō lātēque**, far  
and wide.

**lātītūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**lātus**, wide],  
width, extent, breadth.

**Latobrig•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the  
Latobrigi, a Gallic tribe east of  
the Rhine.

**latrōcin•ium, -ī, n.** [**latrō**,  
robber], robbery, brigandage.

**lāt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, wide, broad,  
extensive.

**lat•us, -eris, n.**, side; wing or flank  
of an army.

**lāt•us**, *see ferō*.

**laus, laudis, f.**, praise,  
commendation; renown,  
popularity, glory.

**lēgāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**lēgō**,  
delegate], embassy, legation;  
commission.

**lēgāt•us, -ī, m.** [**lēgō**, delegate],  
one with delegated authority;  
ambassador, envoy, legate;  
lieutenant. †

**legi•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**legō**, choose], a  
legion. †

**Lemann•us, -ī** (often with **lacus**),  
m., Lake Lemannus, Lake  
Leman, or Lake Geneva.

**lēn•is, -e, adj.**, gentle, mild,  
smooth.

**Levāc•ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Levaci,  
a Gallic tribe between the rivers  
Marne and Moselle.

**levi•tās, -tātis, f.** [**levis**,  
light], lightness; fickleness,  
restlessness.

**levō**, 1 [**levis**, light], lighten, ease,  
relieve.

**lēx, lēgis, f.**, law, statute.

**liber•ī, -ōrum, m.** [**liber**, free], the  
non-slave members of a family or  
household; children.

**lib•er, -era, -erum, adj.**,  
unrestrained, free; undisputed.

**liberō, 1 [liber, free]**, make or set free, release, deliver.

**liber•tās, -tātis, f. [liber, free]**,  
freedom, liberty, independence.

**licet, licēre, licuit and licitum est, impers.** it is lawful, one has permission, it is permitted, one may, one is allowed; **licet mihi**, I may; **petere ut liceat**, to ask permission.

**Liger, -ris, m.** Loire (river).

**lignāti•ō, -ōnis, f. [lignum, wood]**, the procuring of wood, collecting of wood.

**lignāt•or, -ōris, m. [lignum, wood]**, one sent to gather wood, wood-forager.

**lingu•a, -ae, f.**, language, tongue.

**litter•a, -ae, f.**, a letter of the alphabet, a written sign, mark, or character; *pl.*: letters of the alphabet; letter, written message, epistle. †

**lit•us, -oris, n.**, seashore, beach, shore.

**loc•us, -ī, m. (pl. loc•a, -ōrum, n.)**, place, position, locality, situation; topic, subject; condition, state; rank, family; opportunity; **obsidum locō**, as hostages. †

**longē, adv. [longus, long]**, far, far away, distant, **longē lātēque**, far and wide. †

**longinqu•us, -a, -um, adj. [longus, long]**, far off, distant, remote; long, long continued.

**longitūd•ō, -inis, f. [longus, long]**, length, extent; long duration.

**long•us, -a, -um, adj.**, distant, long; of long duration; tedious. †

**loquor, loquī, locūtus sum**, speak, talk, converse.

**lōric•a, -ae, f.**, coat of mail; parapet, breastwork.

**Lūcān•ius, -ī, m.** Quintus Lucanius, a centurion.

**Lūci•us, -ī, m.**, a Roman praenomen, abbreviated **L.**

**lūn•a, -ae, f.**, the moon.

**Luteti•a, -ae, f.** Lutetia; city of the Parisii on an island in the Seine river; now called Paris.

**lūx, lūcis, f.**, light, daylight; **prīmā lūce**, at dawn.

## M.

**M.**, sign for **mille**, one thousand.

**M.**, abbr. for **Marcus**, a Roman praenomen.

**magis, adv. comp.** [from **magnus**, large], more, rather, in a higher degree; *superl.*: **maximē**, especially, in the highest degree; mostly, mainly.

**magistrāt•us, -ūs, m. [magister, master]**, public office, magistracy; public official, magistrate.

**magn•us, -a, -um, adj.**, large, big, great (*in size, quantity, or degree*), abundant, much; important, extensive; loud (*voice*); high (*tide*); **magnī (gen. sing. n.)**, of great importance;

**magnis itineribus**, by forced marches. *Comp.*: **maior**; *superl.*: **maximus**. †

**maior, maius**, *adj.* [*comp. of magnus*, large], larger, bigger, greater (*in degree, size, time, etc.*); older, elder; *as noun*: **māiōrēs natū**, elders, old men; **maiōrēs**, ancestors. †

**magnificus, -a, -um**, *adj.* [**magnus**, large + **faciō**, make], magnificent, splendid.

**magnitūdō, -inis**, *f.* [**magnus**, large], size, large size, greatness, extent; stature (**corporum**); violence (**venti**); severity (**poenae**); **magnitūdō animi**, courage.

**magnopere**, *adv.* [**magnus**, large + **opus**, work], *with great effort*; especially, greatly, exceedingly, earnestly.

**maleficium, -i**, *n.* [**malus**, evil + **faciō**, do], evil doing, mischief, harm, injury.

**mandātum, -i**, *n.* [**mandō**, command], charge, injunction, order, command; message.

**mandō**, 1 [**manus**, hand], *give into one's hands*, entrust, commit; enjoin, order, command.

**maneō, manēre, mānsi, mānsum**, remain, continue, abide, stay.

**manus, -ūs**, *f.*, the hand; **in manibus**, near at hand; **manū**, by hand, by art; **ferrea manus**, a grappling hook; **dare manūs**, yield; an armed force, troop, band, gang, company. †

**Marcus, -i**, *m.*, a Roman praenomen.

**mare, maris**, *n.*, sea; **mare Ōceanum**, the ocean.

**maritimus, -a, -um**, *adj.* [**mare**, sea], of the sea, sea; maritime, naval, on the sea; **ōra**, the seashore.

**Mars, -tis**, *m.*, Mars, the god of war.

**mās, maris**, *adj.*, male; *as a noun*: a male.

**Massilia, -ae**, *f.*, Massilia; city founded by Greeks in what became the Roman Province (Transalpine Gaul); now called Marseilles.

**māteriā, -ae**, *f.*, material; wood, timber.

**mātrimōnium, -i**, *n.* [**māter**, mother], marriage, wedlock, matrimony; **in mātrimōnium dūcere**, to marry (*said of the man*).

**Matrona, -ae**, *m.*, the river Matrona, now called the Marne.

**mātūrō**, 1 [**mātūrus**, ripe], ripen; accelerate, quicken, speed up; hurry up, make haste; hurry, hasten.

**maximē**, *see magis*.

**maximus, -a, -um**, *adj.* [*superl. of magnus*, large. App. §42], greatest, largest, biggest.

**medeor, medēri**, —, cure, remedy.

**mediocris, -e**, *adj.* [**medius**, middle of], ordinary, moderate, average.

- medi•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, in the middle of; in the middle, intervening, intermediate; **locus medi•us utriusque**, a place midway between the two.
- membr•um**, -ī, *n.*, limb.
- memori•a**, -ae, *f.* [**memor**, mindful], the faculty of memory; memory, recollection, remembrance; tradition; **memoriā tenēre**, remember; **patrum memoriā**, in the time of our fathers or ancestors.
- mēns•is**, -is, *m.*, month.
- mercāt•or**, -ōris, *m.* [**mercor**, trade], merchant, trader.
- Mercur•ius**, -ī, *m.*, Mercury, a god especially associated by the Romans with trade.
- mereō** and **mereor**, 2, deserve, merit, be worthy of; win, earn, incur (**odium**); serve as a soldier (*i.e.*, earn pay).
- Messāl•a**, -ae, *m.*, Marcus Valerius Messala, consul in 61 BCE.
- metō**, **metere**, **messuī**, **messum**, mow, harvest, reap.
- met•us**, -ūs, *m.* [**metuō**, fear], fear, dread, terror, anxiety, apprehension; **metū territāre**, terrify, terrorize; **hōc metū** = **metū huius rei**, from fear of this.
- me•us**, -a, -um, *poss. adj.* [*of the pron. ego*], my, mine, my own.
- mīl•es**, -itis, *m.*, soldier, private soldier; infantry (as opposed to **equitēs**); **militēs imperāre**, draft soldiers from, levy soldiers upon. †
- mīlia**, *see mille*. †
- militār•is**, -e, *adj.* [**miles**, soldier], of a soldier, military, martial; **rēs militāris**, military matters, warfare, the science of war.
- mille**, *indecl. num. adj.*, a thousand; *pl.*: **mīli•a**, -ium, *n.*, thousands (*usually followed by a partitive gen.*); **mīlia passuum**, thousands of paces, miles. †
- Minerv•a**, -ae, *f.*, the goddess Minerva, who was associated with wisdom and the liberal arts.
- minimē**, *adv.* [**minimus**, least], least, very little; by no means, not at all.
- minor**, *comp. of parvus*.
- minuō**, **minuere**, **minuī**, **minūtum** [**minus**, less], lessen, impair, diminish; settle (**contrōversiās**); **minuente aestū**, the tide ebbing.
- minus**, *adv. comp.* [*of parvus*, little], less; not at all, too little. †
- mittō**, **mittere**, **mīsī**, **missum**, send, send off, dismiss, let go, dispatch; hurl, discharge. †
- mōbili•tās**, -tātis, *f.* [**mōbilis**, movable], movableness, activity, speed; changeability, fickleness, inconstancy.
- moderor**, 1 [**modus**, limit], manage, govern, control, guide.
- modo**, *adv.* [**modus**, measure], *with measure or limit*; only, merely; even, just, at least, but; *of time*, just now, recently; **nōn modo . . . sed etiam**, not only . . . but also.

**mod•us**, -ī, *m.*, measure, quantity, size; manner, method, style; **ad hunc modum**, in this way; **eius modī**, of such a kind, such; *abl.*, **modō**, *used with a gen.*: in the character of, like.

**mol•ō**, -ere, -uī, -itum, grind.

**moneō**, 2, warn, advise, instruct, order.

**mōns**, **montis**, *m.*, mountain; mountain range; hill, height.

**morb•us**, -ī, *m.*, illness, sickness, disease.

**Morīn•ī**, -ōrum, *m.*, the Morini.

**morior**, **morī**, **mortuus sum** [**mors**, death], die.

**moror**, 1 [**mora**, a delay], delay, hinder; linger, hang back.

**mor•s**, -tis, *f.*, death; **sibi mortem cōnsciscere**, commit suicide. † **mortu•us**, *see morior*.

**mōs**, **mōris**, *m.*, manner, custom, practice; *pl.*: customs, habits; character; **mōs māiōrum**, the customs of our ancestors, ancestral tradition.

**Mos•a**, -ae, *m.*, the river Mosa, now called the Meuse or the Maas.

**mōt•us**, -ūs, *m.* [**moveō**, move], movement, motion; political movement, uprising, disturbance.

**multitūd•ō**, -inis, *f.* [**multus**, much], a great number, multitude; the multitude, the common people, the populace. † **multō**, *adv.* [*abl.* of **multus**, much], by far, much.

**multum**, *adv.* [*acc.* of **multus**, much], much, very, greatly,

especially; *comp.*: **plūs**, more; **plūs posse**, be more able or powerful; be very powerful or influential.

**mult•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, much, great; *pl.*: many; *with abl.* expressing time when, late; as *noun*, many persons or things; *comp.*: **plūs**, **plūris**, more; as *noun*: more; *pl.*: more, several, many; *superl.*: **plūrimus**, -a, -um, most; *pl.*: very many. †

**Munāt•ius**, -ī, *m.*, Lucius Munatius Plancus, a lieutenant of Caesar.

**mund•us**, -ī, *m.*, world, universe.

**mūniō**, 4, defend with a wall, fortify, defend, protect; **mūnitus**, *perf. part.* as *adj.*: fortified, defended, protected.

**mūnīti•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [**mūniō**, fortify], fortifying; fortification, rampart, works, entrenchments.

**mūn•us**, -eris, *n.*, duty, service, task; present.

**mūrāl•is**, -e, *adj.* [**mūrus**, wall], pertaining to a wall, mural; **mūrāle pilum**, mural javelin, a heavy javelin that was thrown from the top of a wall.

**N.**

**nam**, *conj.*, for. †

**Nammē•ius**, -ī, *m.*, Nammeius, a member of the Helvetian nobility sent as an ambassador to Caesar.

**nanciscor**, **nanciscī**, **nactus sum**, get, obtain possession of; meet with, find.

- nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum**, be born, be produced; rise, spring up, be raised; be found.
- nātāl-is, -e, adj.** [**nāscor**, be born], pertaining to birth, natal; **diēs**, birthday.
- nāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**nāscor**, be born], people, tribe, nation.
- nātūr•a, -ae, f.** [**nāscor**, be born], nature; natural disposition, character, constitution.
- nāvig•ium, -ī, n.** [**nāvigō**, sail], a sailing vessel, ship; sailing, navigation.
- nāvigō**, 1 [**nāvis**, ship], set sail, sail.
- nāv•is, -is, f.**, ship, boat; **nāvis longa**, galley, ship of war; **nāvis onerāria**, transport ship. †
- nē** (App. §188, b.) (1), *conj.* with the subjunctive, that . . . not, so that . . . not, in order that . . . not, lest; *after verbs of fearing*, that, lest. (2), *adv.* not; **nē . . . quidem** (enclosing the emphatic word), not even. †
- ne-, nec-, neg-**, inseparable negative prefix.
- ne**, *interrog. enclitic*: in direct questions, simply the sign of a question (App. §213, a.); in indirect questions, whether; **-ne . . . -ne, -ne . . . an, utrum . . . -ne**, whether . . . or. †
- nec**, *see neque*. †
- necessāri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**necesse**, necessary], necessary, requisite, pressing; with **tempus**, critical; as *noun*: friend, relative.
- necesse**, *indecl. adj.*, necessary, unavoidable, indispensable.
- necō**, 1 [**nex**, death], put to death, kill, murder.
- neg-**, *see ne-*.
- neg•legō, -legere, -lēxī, -lēctum** [**neg** + **legō**, choose, regard], not heed, not pay attention to, disregard, neglect.
- negō**, 1, say no, refuse, say . . . not.
- negōt•ium, -ī, n.** [**neg-** + **ōtium**, leisure], concern, business, undertaking; trouble, difficulty, labor; **negōtium dare**, employ, direct; **quid negōtī**, what business; **nihil negōtī**, no difficulty.
- nēmō**, *acc. nēminem, m. and f.* [**ne-** + **homō**, human being], no one, nobody.
- neque (nec)** (App. §188, a.), *conj.* [**ne-** + **que**], and not, not, nor; but not; **neque . . . neque**, neither . . . nor. †
- Nervi•us, -a, -um, adj.**, of the Nervii; *m. sing. as noun*: one of the Nervii; *m. pl. as noun*: the Nervii, a Belgic tribe. †
- nēve (neu)** (App. §188, b.) [**nē** + **ve**, or], and not, nor.
- nex, -cis, f.**, violent death, death, execution.
- nihil**, *indecl. noun, n.*, nothing; with *gen.*, no, none of; *acc. as adv.*, not, not at all, by no means; **nōn nihil**, somewhat. †
- nihilō**, *adv.*, by no means; **nihilō minus**, nevertheless.

**nisi**, *conj.* [**ne-** + **sī**, if], if not, except, unless.

**nītor**, **nītī**, **nīxus sum**, rest upon, rely upon, exert oneself, strive, attempt.

**nōbilis**, **-e**, *adj.* [**nōscō**, know], well-known, distinguished, noted; of noble birth, noble; *as noun*: a noble.

**nōbili-tās**, **-tātis**, *f.* [**nōbilis**, well-known], fame; noble birth, rank; the nobility.

**noceō**, **nocēre**, **nocuī**, **nocitum**, harm, injure, hurt; **nocēns**, *pres. part. as noun*: guilty person.

**noctū**, *adv.* [**nox**, night], by night, at night. †

**nocturnus**, **-a**, **-um**, *adj.* [**nox**, night], at night, nocturnal, nightly.

**nōlō**, **nōlle**, **nōluī**, —, (*App.* §82) [**ne-** + **volō**, wish], not wish, be unwilling; refuse; *imperat.* **nōlī** or **nōlite**, *with inf.* (*App.* §219), do not.

**nōm-en**, **-inis**, *n.*, name, title; reputation, prestige; **nōmine** *with gen.*, in the name of, as; **suō nōmine**, on his or their own account, personally.

**nōn** (*App.* §188, *a.*), *adv.*, not; no. † **nōndum**, *adv.* [**nōn** + **dum**], not yet.

**nōnnūllus**, **-a**, **-um**, *adj.* [**nōn** + **nūllus**, none], some, several; *pl. as noun*: some, several.

**nōnnumquam**, *adv.* [**nōn** + **numquam**, never], sometimes.

**Nōrēi-a**, **-ae**, *f.*, Noreia, a town in Noricum.

**Nōric-us**, **-a**, **-um**, *adj.*

pertaining to Noricum (a territory between the Danube and the Alps).

**nōs**, *see* **ego**.

**nōscō**, **nōscere**, **nōvī**, **nōtum**, learn, become acquainted or familiar with; **nōvī**, *perf.*, have learned, hence know; **nōtus**, *perf. part. as adj.*: known, well-known, familiar.

**nos-ter**, **-tra**, **-trum**, *poss. adj.*, our, ours, our own; *in pl. as noun*: our men, our troops. †

**nōt-us**, *see* **nōscō**.

**novi-tās**, **-tātis**, *f.* [**novus**, new], newness; strangeness, novelty.

**nov-us**, **-a**, **-um**, *adj.*, new, novel; unusual, fresh; **rēs novae**, a change of government, revolution; *superl.*: **novissim-us**, **-a**, **-um**, latest, last; *as noun or with agmen*, those in the rear, the rear.

**nox**, **noctis**, *f.*, night; **media nox**, the middle of the night, midnight; **multā nocte**, late at night. †

**nox-i-a**, **-ae**, *f.*, crime, offense.

**nūdō**, 1 [**nūdus**, bare], strip, uncover, make bare or naked, expose.

**nūll-us**, **-a**, **-um**, *gen.* **nūllius**, *adj.* [**ne-** + **ūllus**, any], not any, no; *as noun*: no one, none; **nōnnūllus**, some; *as noun*: some, some persons. †

**nūm-en**, **-inis**, *n.*, divinity, god; divine force or will.

**numer•us**, -ī, *m.*, number, quantity, amount; account; **in numerō**, *with gen.*, among, as. + **nunc**, *adv.*, now, at present, at this time.

**nūntiō**, 1 [**nūntius**, messenger], announce, send news, report, make known; order, direct.

**nūntius**, -ī, *m.*, messenger; message, news, report.

**nūper**, *adv.*, recently, not long ago.

**nūt•us**, -ūs, *m.* [**nuō**, nod], nod; sign, command; **ad nūtum**, at one's nod *or* command.

## O.

**ob**, *prep. with acc.*, on account of, for; *in compounds*, opposed to, to, forward, against; **quam ob rem**, for which reason, wherefore, why.

**obaerāt•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [**aes**, money], in debt; *as a noun*: debtor.

**ob•eō**, -īre, -iī, -itum [**eō**, go. App. §84], go to *or* towards; perform, attend to.

**observō**, 1 [**servō**, give heed], observe, mark, watch; regard, obey; celebrate.

**ob•ses**, -sidis, *m. and f.* [**obsideō**, blockade], *one who is guarded*, hostage; pledge, security.

**ob•sideō**, -sidēre, -sēdī, -sessum [**sedeō**, sit], sit in the way of, obstruct, besiege, blockade.

**obsidi•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [**obsideō**, blockade], siege, investment, blockade; peril, oppression.

**obtestor**, 1 [**testor**, witness], call to witness; beseech, entreat.

**ob•tineō**, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum [**teneō**, hold], hold, retain, possess, maintain; acquire, obtain.

**occāsi•ō**, -ōnis, *f.* [**occidō**, fall, happen], occasion, opportunity.

**occās•us**, -ūs, *m.* [**occidō**, fall, happen], falling down, setting; *with sōlis*, sunset; the west.

**oc•cidō**, -cidere, -cidī, — [**ad** + **cadō**, fall], fall down, set; happen; be slain, perish; **occidēns sōl**, the west.

**oc•cidō**, -cidere, -cīsī, -cīsum [**caedō**, cut], cut down, kill, slay.

**occultō**, 1 [**occultus**, secret], hide, keep secret, conceal.

**occupō**, 1 [**ob** + **capiō**, take], take possession of, seize, occupy; engage, employ.

**oc•currō**, -currere, -currī, -cursum [**ob** + **currō**, run], run in the way of, meet; happen upon; go to, come to; oppose, counteract; occur.

**Ōcean•us**, -ī, *m.*, the ocean.

**octāv•us**, -a, -um, *adj., ord. num.* [**octō**, eight], eighth.

**offic•ium**, -ī, *n.*, service, allegiance, duty; official duty, business; **esse, manēre, or permanēre in officiō**, to remain loyal.

**omnīnō**, *adv.* [**omnis**, all], at all; whatever; altogether, entirely, wholly, in all, only.



**omn•is, -e, adj.**, all, every, all the, every kind of, the whole, as a whole; *m. pl. as noun*, all, every one; all the rest; *n. pl. as noun*, all possessions or goods. †

**onerāri•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**onus**, load], equipped for loads or fitted for burdens; *with nāvis*, transport, freight ship.

**on•us, -eris, n.**, load, burden; weight, size.

**oper•a, -ae, f.** [**opus**, work], work, exertion; service; pains, attention; **dare operam**, give attention, take pains.

**opīni•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**opīnor**, think], way of thinking, opinion; impression; expectation; reputation; **opīniō timōris**, impression of cowardice.

**oport•et, -ēre, -uit, —, impers.**, it is necessary, needful, becoming, proper; *when translated as a personal verb*: must, ought.

**oportūn•us, -a, -um, adj.**, fit, opportune, lucky, suitable; favorable, advantageous.

**oppid•um, -ī, n.**, fortified town, town, stronghold.

**op•primō, -primere, -pressī, -pressus** [**ob** + **premō**, press], press down, oppress; overwhelm, overpower, destroy; fall upon, surprise.

**oppugnāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**oppugnō**, storm], a storming, besieging, siege, assault, attack; plan or method of storming. †

**oppugnō**, 1 [**ob** + **pugnō**, fight], fight against, attack, assault, storm, besiege.

**optimē, superl. of bene.**

**optimus, superl. of bonus.**

**op•us, -eris, n.**, work, labor; military work or works, fortifications, defenses; a work of engineering or architecture; **nātūrā et opere**, by nature and art.

**opus, indecl. noun, n.** [*cf.* **opus**, work, deed], need, necessity; **opus est**, it is necessary, there is need; *the thing needed is expressed either by the nom. or the abl.* (App. §146).

**ōrāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**ōrō**, speak], a speaking, speech, language, words, address, argument.

**ōrāt•or, -ōris, m.** [**ōrō**, speak], speaker; ambassador, envoy.

**orb•is, -is, m.**, orb, ring, circle; **orbis terrārum**, the world.

**ōrd•ō, -inis, m.**, row, tier, layer; rank, line of soldiers; arrangement, order; degree, rank; **prīmī ōrdinis**, centurions of the first rank. †

**Orgetor•ix, -īgis, m.**, a Helvetian noble who conspired to become the supreme leader of the Helvetians. †

**orior, orīrī, ortus sum**, arise, begin, spring up, rise, start; be born, descend; **oriēns sōl**, the rising sun, sunrise; the east.

**ōrō**, 1 [**ōs**, mouth], speak; beseech, entreat.

**ort•us, -ūs, m.** [**orior**, rise], rising.  
**ōs, ōris, n.**, mouth; face,  
 countenance.

**os•tendō, -tendere, -tendī,**  
**-tentum** [**obs** + **tendō**, stretch]  
*stretch before*; present, show,  
 bring into view, reveal; tell,  
 declare; point out, mention.

**ostentō, 1** [*frequ. of ostendō*,  
 show], show frequently; show,  
 exhibit.

## P.

**pācō, 1** [**pāx**, peace], make  
 peaceful, subdue, pacify;  
**pācātus, perf. part. as adj.:**  
 peaceful, quiet, subdued.

**Pad•us, -ī, m.**, the Padus river, the  
 Po, *the biggest river in northern*  
*Italy.*

**paene, adv.** nearly, almost.

**palam, adv.** openly, publicly.

**pār, paris, adj.**, equal, like,  
 similar; equal to, a match  
 for; *with words of number and*  
*quantity, the same*; **pār atque**,  
 the same as.

**parcō, parcere, pepercī, parsus**  
 [**parcus**, frugal], be frugal *or*  
 economical; spare, do not injure  
 or harm.

**parēn•s, -tis, m., f.** [**pariō**, bring  
 forth], parent.

**pariō, parere, peperī, partum,**  
 bring forth; gain, acquire, win.

**parō, 1**, prepare, get ready;  
 procure, acquire; prepare for, get  
 ready for; **parātus, perf. part. as**  
*adj.:* ready, prepared; equipped.

**par•s, -tis, f.**, part, share;  
 (political) faction; direction,  
 side, place; district, area †

**partus, see pariō.**

**pass•us, -ūs, m.** [**pandō**, extend],  
 a pace, step, stride, *the distance*  
*from where the foot leaves the*  
*ground to where the same foot*  
*again hits the ground, which*  
*Romans standardized as a*  
*measure of 4 feet, 10 ¼ inches*  
*(= five Roman feet)*; **mille**  
**passūs or passuum**, a Roman  
 mile (4,857 feet). †

**pate•ō, -ēre, -uī, —**, lie or be open,  
 be passable; stretch out, extend.

**pat•er, -ris, m.**, father; *in pl.:*  
 forefathers, ancestors; **pater**  
**familiae**, father or head of a  
 household.

**patior, patī, passus sum**, endure,  
 withstand, suffer; permit, allow.

**pauc•ī, -ae, -a, adj.** (*rarely used*  
*in the sing.*), few; *as noun:* few  
 persons or things.

**pauci•tās, -tātis, f.** [**paucus**, few],  
 fewness, small number.

**paulātim, adv.** [**paulus**, little], little  
 by little, by degrees, gradually.

**paulō, adv.** [**paulus**, little], a little,  
 somewhat, slightly.

**paulum, adv.** [**paulus**, little], a  
 little, somewhat, slightly.

**paul•us, -a, -um, adj.**, little;

**paulum**, *as noun:* a little; **post**  
**paulum**, soon after.

**pāx, pācis, f.**, peace, favor.

**pecūni•a, -ae, f.**, property, wealth;  
 money.

**ped-es, -itis, m.** [**pēs**, foot], foot soldier; *pl.*: infantry.

**pedest-er, -ris, -re, adj.** [**pēs**, foot], on foot, pedestrian;

**pedestrēs cōpiae**, infantry.

**peditāt-us, -ūs, m.** [**pedes**, foot soldier], foot soldiers, infantry.

**pellō, pellere, pepulī, pulsum**, beat, defeat, rout; drive out, expel.

**pendō, pendere, pependī, pēnsum**, weigh, weigh out; weigh out *money*, pay, pay out; with **poenās**, suffer.

**per, prep. with acc.**, through, throughout; by means of, through the agency of, on account of, through efforts *or* influence of; **per sē**, of their own accord, on their own responsibility; *sometimes with intensive force*, in itself, themselves; *in composition*, thorough, very, thoroughly, completely. †

**per-agō, -agere, -ēgī, -āctum** [**agō**, lead], lead through; complete, finish.

**per-currō, -currere, -currī, -cursum** [**currō**, run], run along *or* over.

**per-cutiō, -cutere, -cutī, -cussum**, strike *or* thrust through, slay, kill.

**per-discō, -discere, -didicī, —** [**discō**, learn], learn thoroughly, learn by heart.

**per-dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead

through *or* along, conduct, bring over, bring; construct, extend; influence, win over; draw out, prolong.

**perendin-us, -a, -um, adj.**, after tomorrow.

**perequitō, 1** [**equitō**, ride], ride around, ride about, ride through.

**perfacil-is, -e, adj.** [**facilis**, easy], very easy.

**per-ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**faciō**, make, do], make *or* do thoroughly *or* completely; complete, finish; construct, build; achieve, accomplish.

**per-fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitum** [**fugiō**, flee], flee for refuge, take refuge; desert.

**pericul-um, -ī, n.**, trial, test, attempt; risk, danger, peril. †

**perlātus, see perferō.**

**per-legō, -legere, -lēgī, -lēctum** [**legō**, read], read through, read.

**per-maneō, -manēre, -mānsī, -mānsum** [**maneō**, remain], stay through *or* to the end, stay, remain; continue, persist.

**per-moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [**moveō**, move], move thoroughly; arouse, incite, excite; affect, influence.

**perpauc-ī, -ae, -a** [**paucī**, few], very few, but very few; *m. pl. as noun*: very few.

**perpetu-us, -a, -um, adj.**, continuous, uninterrupted; permanent, lasting, continual; whole, entire; *n. as noun in the phrase in perpetuum*, forever.

**per•scribō, -scribere, -scrīpsī, -scriptum** [**scribō**, write], write out, report, describe.

**perseve•ērō**, 1, persist, persevere.

**per•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectum** [**speciō**, look], look or see through; view, examine, inspect; perceive, realize, learn, find out, ascertain.

**per•suādēō, -suādēre, -suāsī, -suāsum** [**suādēō**, advise], advise thoroughly, and thus convincingly: convince, persuade, prevail upon; inculcate; **sibi persuādērī**, be convinced. †

**per•terreō**, 2 [**terreō**, frighten], frighten thoroughly; terrify, terrorize.

**pertināci•a, -ae, f.** [**pertineō**, hold onto], obstinacy, stubbornness, pertinacity.

**per•tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum** [**teneō**, hold], hold or reach to, extend; pertain, have reference to, concern; tend, aim at; **eōdem pertinēre**, tend to the same purpose or result, amount to the same thing. †

**pertulī**, see **perferō**.

**perturbō**, 1 [**turbō**, disturb] disturb greatly, throw into confusion, embarrass, disturb; alarm, terrify.

**per•veniō, -venīre, -vēmī, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come through; come to, arrive at, reach; *of property*, fall, revert. †

**pēs, pedis, m.**, the foot, a foot (*the Roman measure was 11.65 inches in length*); **pedibus**, on foot; **pedem referre**, retreat.

**petō, petere, petivī, petitum**, seek, hunt for, aim at, make for, attack, go to, direct one's course to or toward; seek to obtain, strive after; ask, request, beseech. †

**Petrosid•ius, -ī, m.**, Lucius Petrosidius, a standard-bearer in Caesar's army.

**pie•tās, -tātis, f.** [**pīus**, loyal], loyalty, devotion.

**pīl•um, -ī, n.**, heavy javelin, pike.

**pīl•us, -ī, m.**, century of soldiers; **prīmus pīlus**, first century of a legion; **prīmī pīli centuriō** or **prīmipīlus**, the centurion of the first century, the chief centurion.

**pinn•a, -ae, f.**, feather; battlement, parapet.

**Pis•ō, -ōnis, f.**, (1) Marcus Puppius Piso Calpurnianus, consul with Messala in 61 BCE. (2) Lucius Calpurnius Piso, killed in the defeat of Cassius's army by the Tigurini in 107 BCE. (3) Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law; consul in 58 BCE. (4) Piso, an Aquitanian.

**plācō**, 1, appease.

**Plancus, -ī, m.**, see **Munātius**.

**plēbs, plēbis, or plēbēs, plēbēī, f.**, populace, common people.

**plēn•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**pleō**, fill], full, whole, complete.

**plēr•ique, -aeque, -aque, adj. pl.,**  
very many, the most of; *as noun:*  
a great many, very many. †

**plērūmque, adv.** [**plērusque**, the  
greater part], for the most part,  
mostly, generally; again and  
again, very often.

**Pleumoxi•ī, -ōrum, m.,** the  
Pleumoxii.

**plūrimus, see multus.** †

**plūs, see multus.** †

**poen•a, -ae, f.,** punishment,  
penalty.

**polliceor, 2** [**prō + liceor**, bid,  
offer], hold forth, offer, promise,  
pledge.

**pollicitus, see polliceor.**

**Pompē•ius, -ī, m.,** (1) Gnaeus  
Pompeius Magnus, *Pompey the  
Great, political ally with Crassus  
and supporter of Caesar in 60  
BCE, later joins the Senatorial  
party against Caesar, is defeated  
by Caesar in Greece, and  
murdered in Egypt in 48 BCE.* (2)  
Gnaeus Pompeius, *an interpreter  
who served under Quintus  
Titurius Sabinus.*

**pōnō, pōnere, posuī, positum,**  
place, put, place over; lay down,  
set aside; station, post; regard,  
consider; make, build; *with*  
**castra**, pitch; *pass.:* be situated;  
*with in and the abl.,* depend on,  
*in addition to the above meanings.*

**pōns, pontis, m.,** bridge.

**popul•us, -ī, m.,** the people, the  
mass, the crowd, *as opposed to  
individuals; a people, a nation.* †

**porrō, adv.,** farther on;  
furthermore, then.

**port•a, -ae, f.,** gate.

**portō, 1,** carry, transport, bring,  
take.

**port•us, -ūs, m.,** harbor, haven,  
port.

**possum, posse, potuī, —** (App.  
§80) [**potis**, able + **sum**, be],  
be able, can; to have power or  
influence, have strength, be  
strong; *with quam and superl.:*  
*as possible, e.g.,* **quam plūrimās**  
**possunt**, as many as possible;  
**multum posse, plūs posse, and**  
**plūrimum posse, see multum.** †

**post, adv. and prep. with acc.** (1)  
*As adv.,* later, afterward; (2) *As*  
*prep.,* behind, after; **post tergum**  
*or post sē,* in the rear.

**postea, adv.** [**post**, after], after  
this, afterward.

**posteaquam, adv.** [**postea**,  
afterward + **quam**, than], after.

**poster•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**post**,  
after], after, following, next; *in*  
*m. pl. as noun:* posterity; *superl.:*  
**postrēmus or postumus**, last.

**postrēmō, adv.** [**postrēmus**, last],  
finally, at last.

**pot•ēns, -entis, adj.** [*pres. part.*  
*of* **possum**, be able], powerful,  
influential.

**potes•tās, -tātis, f.** [**potēns**,  
powerful], power, ability,  
authority; control, sway, rule;  
chance, opportunity, possibility;  
**potestātem facere**, grant  
permission, give a chance.

- potior**, 4 [**potis**, powerful], become master of, get control or possession of, obtain, capture.
- prae•cēdō**, -**cēdere**, -**cessi**, -**cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go before; surpass, excel.
- prae•ceps**, -**cipitis**, *adj.* [**caput**, head], headlong; steep, precipitous.
- prae•ceptum**, -**i**, *n.* [**praecipiō**, instruct], instruction, injunction, command.
- praed•a**, -**ae**, *f.*, booty, plunder, spoil.
- prae•dicō**, 1 [**dicō**, proclaim], proclaim publicly or before others; declare, report, tell of.
- prae•ficiō**, -**ficere**, -**fēci**, -**fectum** [**faciō**, make], make before; place over, put in command of, put at the head of, place in charge of.
- prae•mittō**, -**mittere**, -**misi**, -**missum** [**mittō**, send], send before or in advance.
- praem•ium**, -**i**, *n.*, distinction, prize, reward.
- prae•sēns**, -**sentis**, *pres. part. of praesum*.
- prae•senti•a**, -**ae**, *f.* [**praesum**, be present], presence; the present moment; **in praesentiā**, for the present; then.
- praesertim**, *adv.*, particularly, especially.
- praesid•ium**, -**i**, *n.* [**praesideō**, guard], guard, garrison; safeguard, protection; fortification, stronghold; help, aid; safety.
- praestō**, *adv.*, at hand, ready; *with sum*, meet.
- prae•stō**, -**stāre**, -**stiti**, -**stātum** [**stō**, stand], stand or place before; show, exhibit, supply, furnish; be superior, excel, surpass; *impers.* **praestat**, it is better or more advisable.
- prae•sum**, -**esse**, -**fuī**, — [**sum**, be. App. §77], be before or over, be in command of, rule over, be at the head of; **praesēns**, *pres. part. as adj.*: present, in person; for the present.
- praeter**, *prep. with acc.* [**prae**, before], before; beyond, past; contrary to; in addition to, except, besides.
- praetereā**, *adv.* [**praeter**, beyond], beyond this, besides, furthermore.
- praeterquam**, *adv.*, besides, except.
- prae•ūrō**, -**ūrere**, -**ussi**, -**ustum** [**ūrō**, burn], burn in front or at the end.
- premō**, **premere**, **pressi**, **pressum**, press, press upon, press hard; oppress, burden, annoy, harass. †
- pridiē**, *adv.* [**diēs**, day], on the day before.
- primum**, *adv.* [**primus**, first], first, at first, in the first place, for the first time; **cum primum** or **ubi primum**, as soon as; **quam primum**, as soon as possible, very soon. †

**prīm•us, -a, -um, adj.** *superl.*

(App. §43), first, foremost; first part of; *pl. as noun*: the first, the front rank *or* ranks; leaders, chiefs; **in prīmīs**, especially. †

**prin•ceps, -cipis, adj.** [**prīmus**, first], *taking the first place*; chief, most prominent, first; *as noun*, chief *or* principal person, leader, chief.

**principāt•us, -ūs, m.** [**princeps**, chief], chief place *or* position; chief authority, leadership.

**prīstin•us, -a, -um, adj.** [*from prior*, former], former, original; previous, preceding.

**prius, adv.** [**prior**, former], before, sooner, previously.

**priusquam or prius . . . quam,** *conj.*, sooner than, before; until.

**privāt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, private, personal, individual; *as noun*, person, individual.

**prō, prep.** *with abl.*, before, in front of; for, on behalf of; on account of, in consideration of, in return for; as, in the disguise of; in place of, instead of; in proportion to, according to; *in compounds* (*appears as prō, pro, and prōd*), for, before, forward, forth. †

**probō, 1** [**probus**, good], consider good, approve; prove, show, demonstrate.

**pro•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessi, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go forth *or* forward, proceed, advance.

**procul, adv.**, far off, from afar, in the distance, at a distance.

**prōcūrō, 1** [**cūrō**, care], care for, attend to.

**pro•currō, -currere, -curri, -cursum** [**currō**, run], run *or* rush forward, rush out, charge.

**prod•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**prō** + **eō**, go, App. §84], go *or* come forth, go forward, advance.

**prōd•ō, -dere, -didi, -ditum** [**dō**, give], give forth, reveal; betray, give up; transmit, hand down; **memoriā prōditum**, told according to tradition, handed down.

**prō•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead out *or* forth, bring forth; prolong, protract; produce; *with cōpiās*, arrange, draw up.

**proelior, 1** [**proelium**, battle], join *or* engage in battle.

**proeli•um, -ī, n.**, battle, contest, engagement; **proelium committere**, join *or* begin battle, risk a fight, engage in battle, fight. †

**profecti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**proficīscor**, set out], a setting out; start, departure.

**proficīscor, proficīscī, profectus sum**, set out for, start out; go, proceed. †

**pro•fiteor, -fitērī, -fessus sum** [**fateor**, confess], admit, acknowledge, declare, offer.

**prōfuī, see prōsum.**

**prōgnāt•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**nāscor**, be born], born; descended, sprung.



- prō•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [**gradior**, step], step or go forward, advance, proceed, go.
- prohibeō, 2** [**habeō**, hold], keep from, keep, restrain, prevent, prohibit; keep out or away from; protect, guard.
- prō•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], throw forward or away; throw, cast; reject, give up, **sē prōicere**, cast oneself; jump.
- proinde, adv.**, hence, accordingly, therefore.
- prō•nūntiō, 1** [**nūntiō**, announce], announce, give out publicly, tell, relate, report, say; give orders; *with* **sententia**, pronounce.
- prō•pellō, -pellere, -puli, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], drive forward, put to flight, rout; dislodge, drive back.
- properō, 1** [**properus**, quick], hasten, hurry.
- propinqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**prope**, near], near, neighboring, close at hand; *pl. as noun*, relatives.
- propius, adv. and prep. with acc.** (App. §122, b.) [**prope**, near], nearer.
- prō•pōnō, -pōnere, -posuī, -positum** [**pōnō**, put], place or put forward, present, offer; relate, tell of, explain; purpose, propose; expose.
- propter, prep. with acc.** [**prope**, near], on account of, because of, in consequence of.
- proptereā, adv.** [**propter**, because of], on this account; **proptereā quod**, because.
- propulso (1)** [**propello**, drive forward], to drive off, repel
- prō•sequor, -sequī, -secūtus sum** [**sequor**, follow], follow, accompany; pursue; *with* **ōrātiōne**, address.
- prō•tegō, -tegere, -tēxī, -tēctum** [**tegō**, cover], cover, protect.
- prō•vehō, -vehere, -vexī, -vectum** [**vehō**, carry], carry forward; *pass.*, be carried forward, sail.
- prō•veniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come forth, grow; be produced, yield (*of grain*).
- prō•videō, -vidēre, -vīdī, -vīsum** [**videō**, see], see beforehand, foresee; care for, provide.
- prōvinci•a, -ae, f.**, office of governor of a province; province, a territory subject to Rome and governed by a Roman governor; especially the Province, the southern part of Gaul along the Mediterranean coast. †
- proxim•us, -a, -um, adj., superl.** (App. §43), nearest, next; last, previous; *with acc.* (App. §122, b.), next to. †
- pūblic•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**populus**, people], of the state or people, common, public; *n. as noun*, public, public view; **rēs pūblica**, the state, the commonwealth. †



**pueril•is, -e, adj.** [**puer**, child], childish.

**pugn•a, -ae, f.** [**pugnō**, fight], fight, battle, contest; **genus**

**pugnae**, method of fighting. †

**pugn•ō**, 1, fight, engage in battle, contend; strive; *often impers.*, as **pugnātur**, it is fought, *i.e.*, they fight. †

**Pull•ō, -ōnis, m.**, Titus Pullo, a centurion in Caesar's army.

**pulv•is, -eris, m.**, dust.

**putō**, 1, think, consider, believe.

**Pŷrēnae•us, -a, -um, adj.**,

Pyreneian; **Pŷrēnaei montēs**, the Pyrenaei or the Pyrenees Mountains.

## Q.

**Q.**, *abbr.* for **Quīntus**, Quintus, a Roman praenomen.

**quā**, *adv.* [*abl. f. of quī*], by which way or route; in which place, where. †

**quadringent•ī, -ae, -a, card. num.** *adj.*, four hundred.

**quaesti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**quaerō**, inquire], inquiry; examination, investigation.

**quaest•or, -ōris, m.** [**quaerō**, seek], a quaestor; (1) at Rome, an annually elected official in charge of state revenues; (2) in the Roman army, a quartermaster in charge of money and supplies, and sometimes employed in commanding troops.

**quaest•us, -ūs, m.** [**quaerō**, seek], gain, acquisition.

**quant•us, -a, -um, adj.**, (1)

*interrog.*, how much? how large?

how great? what? **quantum**, *as adv.*, how much? (2) *rel. pron.*, as

much as, as; **quantum**, *as adv.*, as much as, as; **quantō . . . tantō** (*with comparatives*), the . . . the. †

**quant•usvīs, -avis, -umvīs, adj.**

[**quantus**, as great as + **vīs**, you wish], as great (large, much, etc.) as you wish, however great.

**quārē, adv.** [**quī**, which + **rēs**, thing], (1) *interrog.*, why?

wherefore? for what reason?; (2) *rel.*, on this account, therefore, wherefore.

**quārt•us, -a, -um, adj.**, *ord. num.*

[**quattuor**, four], fourth.

**-que**, *enclitic conj.*, and; **-que . . .**

**-que**, both . . . and. †

**queror, querī, questus sum**, complain, bewail, lament.

**quī, quae, quod**, *rel. pron.* (*see also quis*), who, which, what; *often implying an antecedent*, he, she or it who, those who; *equivalent of the demonstrative*, this or that; **quam ob rem**, for which reason (wherefore);

**quem ad modum**, in what manner, how, as; **quō**, *with comparatives*, the . . . ; **quō . . .**

**eō**, the . . . the. †

**quicumque, quaecumque**,

**quodcumque**, *indef. (or generalizing) rel. pron.*, whoever, whatever; whosoever, whatsoever, any . . . whatever; everyone who, everything that.

**quid**, *interrog. adv.*, why? with **posse**, how? e.g., **quid Germānī possent?** how strong were the Germans?

**quīdam**, **quaedam**, **quiddam** and **quīdam**, **quaedam**, **quoddam**, *indef. pron.* (App. §62 and b.), a certain one, someone; a certain, some, a; a kind of. †

**quidem**, *adv.*, indeed, at any rate, at least, truly; on the other hand; **nē . . . quidem**, not even.

**qui-ēs**, **-ētis**, *f.*, quiet, rest, repose.

**quiēt-us**, **-a**, **-um**, *adj.*, in repose, undisturbed, peaceful, calm, quiet.

**quīn**, *conj.* [**quī**, who or how + **ne**, negative], that not, but that; after negative words of doubt or hindrance, but that, that, from; to; **quīn etiam**, moreover, but actually.

**quīnam**, see **quisnam**.

**quīnquāgintā** (L), *card. num. adj.*, indecl., fifty.

**quīnque** (V), *card. num. adj.*, indecl., five.

**Quīnt-us**, **-ī**, *m.*, Quintus, a Roman praenomen.

**quis**, **quid** and **quī**, **quae**, **quod** (App. §§61–62), (1) *interrog. pron.*, who? which? what? **quam ob rem**, why? **quem ad modum**, how? (2) *indef. pron.*, especially after **sī**, **nisi**, **nē**, **num**, anyone, anything, any; somebody, something, some. †

**quispiam**, **quidpiam** and **quispiam**, **quaepiam**, **quodpiam**, *indef. pron.* (App. §62), anyone, any.

**quisquam**, **quicquam**, *indef. pron.* (App. §62), any, any person or thing.

**quisque**, **quidque** and **quisque**, **quaeque**, **quodque**, *universal indef. pron.* (App. §62), each one, each; everyone, all. †

**quō**, *adv.* [old *dat. case of quī*, who, which], *adv.*, (1) *interrog.* to what place? whither?; (2) *rel.*, to which, to whom; to where, whither; toward which; where, wherein; (3) *indef.*, to any place, anywhere.

**quō**, *conj.* [*abl. case of quī*, who, which], in order that, so that, that.

**quoad**, *adv.* [**quō**, where? + **ad**, to], to where; as long as, as far as; till, until.

**quod**, *conj.* [*n. acc. of quī*, who, which], as to which, in that, that; as to the fact that, inasmuch as; because; **quod sī**, but if; **propterea quod**, because.

**quoniam**, *conj.* [**cum** (= **quom**), since + **iam**, now], since now, since, inasmuch as, because, whereas.

**quotannis**, *adv.* [**quot**, as many as + **annus**, year], every year, yearly.

**quotiēns**, *adv.* [**quot**, how many?], (1) *interrog.*, how many times? how often?; (2) *rel.*, as often as.

**R.**

**rati•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**reor**, reckon], reckoning, account, estimate; design, plan, strategy, science; method, arrangement; cause, reason; regard, consideration; condition, state of affairs; manner, way; condition, terms; *in pl.*, transactions.

**Raurac•ī, -ōrum**, *m.*, the Rauraci, a people along the upper Rhine, north of the Helvetians.

**re-** and **red-**, inseparable prefixes, again, back, un-, re-.

**rebelli•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**rebellō**, renew war], renewal of war, rebellion, revolt.

**re•cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go back, retire.

**rec•ēns, -entis**, *adj.* recent, late; fresh, new, vigorous.

**recess•us, -ūs**, *m.* [**re** + **cēdō**, go], go back, retire.

**re•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum** [**re** + **capiō**, take], take or get back, recover; admit, receive, receive in surrender or submission; admit of, allow; *with sē*, withdraw oneself, retreat, escape, flee, run back; recover oneself. †

**recitō**, 1, read aloud.

**recuperō**, 1, recover, regain.

**recūsō**, 1, refuse, reject; object to, make objections, complain; *with periculum*, shrink from.

**red•dō, -dere, -didi, -ditum** [**red-** + **dō**, give], give back, return, restore; give or return something due or owed; make or cause to be; render.

**red•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**red-** + **eō**, go. App. §84], go or turn back, return; come; fall to, descend; be referred.

**red•igō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctum** [**red-** + **agō**, put in motion], bring back, bring under; render, make; reduce.

**rediti•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**redeō**, return], return.

**redit•us, -ūs**, *m.* [**redeō**, return], returning, return.

**re•dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], lead or bring back; draw back, pull back; extend back.

**referō, referre, rettulī, relātum** [**re** + **ferō**, carry. App. §81], bear, carry or bring back, report; **pedem referre**, go back, retreat; **grātiā referre**, show one's gratitude, make a requital.

**re•ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum** [**re** + **faciō**, make], remake, repair; allow to rest; *with sē*, refresh oneself, rest.

**re•fugiō, -fugere, -fūgī, -fugitum** [**re** + **fugiō**, flee], flee back, retreat; escape.

**regi•ō, -ōnis**, *f.* [**regō**, keep straight], line, direction; quarter, region, country, territory, place; **ē regiōne**, *with gen.*, opposite.

**rēgnō**, 1 [**rēgnum**, royal power], reign, rule.

**rēgn•um, -ī**, *n.* [**rēx**, king], kingly or royal authority, royal power, absolute power, sovereignty; despotism, tyranny; kingdom. †

- regō, regere, rēxī, rēctum**, keep straight; guide, direct, control.
- re•gredior, -gredi, -gressus sum** [**gradior**, step], go or come back; turn back, return; march back, withdraw, retire, retreat.
- re•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**re** + **iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl or drive back, repel; cast down or off; drive off or out.
- relegō, 1** [**re** + **legō**, delegate], send away, remove.
- religi•ō, -ōnis, f.**, religion; *in pl.*, religious ceremonies, rites; superstitions.
- re•linquō, -linquere, -liquī, -lictum** [**re** + **linquō**, leave], leave behind, abandon; *pass.*, be left, remain. †
- reliqu•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**relinquō**, leave], left, remaining, the rest, the rest of; future, subsequent; *n. as noun*, remainder, rest. †
- re•maneō, -manēre, -mānsī, -mānsum** [**re** + **maneō**, remain], stay or remain behind, remain.
- Rēm•us, -a, -um, adj.**, belonging to or one of the Remi; *pl. as noun*, **Rēmī, m.**, the Remi, a Belgic people along the Axona (Aisne) whose main city was Durocortorum (now Reims).
- re•migrō, 1** [**migrō**, move, migrate], move back, return.
- re•mittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send or dispatch back, return, restore, remit; release, relax, give up;
- remissus, perf. part. as adj.**, mild.
- re•moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [**moveō**, move], move back or away, remove, withdraw;
- remōtus, perf. part. as adj.**, remote, far away.
- rēm•us, -ī, m.**, oar.
- re•pellō, -pellere, -pulī, -pulsum** [**pellō**, drive], bear or drive back, repel, repulse.
- reptin•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**repēns**, sudden], sudden, unexpected, hasty.
- reperiō, reperire, repperī, repertum** [**re** + **pariō**, procure], procure, find out, discover, ascertain; devise.
- reportō, 1** [**re** + **portō**, carry], carry or bring back, convey.
- re•poscō, -poscere, —, —** [**re** + **poscō**, demand], demand back, exact, ask for.
- re•prehendō, -prehendere, -prehendī, -prehensum** [**prehendō** (= **prendō**), seize], hold back; criticize, blame, censure.
- repulsus, see repellō.**
- rēs, rei, f.**, of indefinite meaning; variously translated according to context; thing, object, matter, event, affair, occurrence; circumstance, case; act, action, deed; reason, ground;
- rēs familiāris**, property; **rēs frūmentāria**, supplies; **rēs militāris**, warfare; **novae rēs**, revolution; **rēs pública**, state; **rēs actae**, deeds, achievements;
- quam ob rem, see quī and quis.** †

**re•scindō, -scindere, -scidī, -scissum** [**re** + **scindō**, cleave], cut away *or* down, break down, destroy.

**reservō, 1** [**re** + **servō**, save, keep], keep back, save up, reserve.

**re•sistō, -sistere, -stitī, —** [**sistō**, stand], stand back, remain behind, halt, stand still; withstand, resist, oppose.

**re•spiciō, -spicere, -spexī, -spectrum** [**re** + **speciō**, look], look back; look at, take notice of; consider, regard.

**re•spondeō, -spondēre, -spondī, -sponsum** [**re** + **spondeō**, promise], reply, answer.

**re•stituō, -stituere, -stitui, -stitutum** [**re** + **statuō**, set up], set up again, rebuild, renew, restore.

**re•tineō, -tinēre, -tinui, -tentum** [**re** + **teneō**, hold], hold back, detain, keep; restrain, hinder; detain forcibly, seize; retain, preserve, maintain.

**rettulī, see referō.**

**re•vertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versum**, *used almost exclusively in the perf. tenses, and* **re•vector, -vertī, -versus sum** [**re** + **vertō**, turn], turn back, come back, return.

**Rhēn•us, -ī, m.**, the river Rhenus, the Rhine. †

**Rhodan•us, -ī, m.**, the river Rhodanus, the Rhone. †

**rīp•a, -ae, f.**, bank (*of a stream*).

**rogō, 1**, ask; request, ask for.

**Rōmān•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**Rōma**], Roman; *as noun*, a Roman. †

**Rōsc•ius, -ī, m.**, Lucius Roscius, *one of Caesar's lieutenants.*

**rot•a, -ae, f.**, wheel.

**rūm•or, -ōris, m.**, hearsay, report, rumor.

**rūrsus, adv.** [*for reversus, from revertō*, turn back], again, back, anew; in turn.

## S.

**Sabīn•us, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, *one of Caesar's lieutenants.*

**sacrific•ium, -ī, n.** [**sacer**, sacred + **faciō**, make], sacrifice.

**saepe, adv.**, often, frequently; many times, again and again; **saepe numerō**, often, time and again, frequently; *comp.* **saepius**, oftener, more frequently; time and again, too often.

**sagitt•a, -ae, f.**, arrow.

**sagul•um, -ī, n.** [*dim. of sagum*, coat], a small coat; military cloak.

**sal•ūs, -ūtis, f.** [**salvus**, safe], welfare, security, safety; preservation, deliverance; place of safety; life (*when in danger*). †

**Samarobrīv•a, -ae, f.**, Samarobriva (*now Amiens*), *a city belonging to the Ambiani on the river Samara (Somme).*

**sanciō, sancīre, sānxī, sānctus**, make sacred; make binding, ratify, sanction; **sānct•us, -a, -um, perf. part. as adj.**, sacred, inviolable; established.

**sap·iō, -ere, -ivī, —**, taste; be wise, understand.

**satis**, *adv.*, and *indecl. adj. and noun*, (1) *as adv.*, enough, sufficiently; rather; very; well; (2) *as adj.*, sufficient; (3) *as noun*, enough.

**satis·faciō, -facere, -fēcī, -factum** [**satis**, enough + **faciō**, make], make or do enough for; give satisfaction, satisfy; make amends, apologize, ask pardon.

**sauci·us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, wounded.

**scāl·ae, -ārum**, *f.* [**scandō**, climb], stairs; scaling ladder.

**scaph·a, -ae, f.**, skiff, boat.

**scelerāt·us, -a, -um**, *adj.* [**scelerō**, pollute], accursed, infamous; *as noun*, criminal.

**sciō**, 4, distinguish; know, understand.

**scribō, scribere, scripsī, scriptum**, write, record, or make mention in writing.

**scūt·um, -ī, n.**, shield, buckler; oblong, convex ( $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  feet), made of wood covered with leather or iron plates, with a metal rim.

**sē-** and **sēd-**, inseparable prefix, apart, away.

**sē**, see **suī**. †

**secūt·us**, see **sequor**.

**sed**, *conj.*, but, but yet (*a stronger adversative than autem or at*). †

**sēment·is, -is, f.** [**sēmen**, seed], sowing.

**senāt·us, -ūs, m.** [**senex**, old], a body of old men, senate; especially, the Roman Senate.

**sententi·a, -ae, f.** [**sentīō**, think], way of thinking, opinion, sentiment; purpose, design, scheme, plan; decision, resolve; verdict; sentence.

**sentīō, sentīre, sēnsī, sēnsūm**, perceive, be aware of, notice, experience, undergo; realize, know; decide, judge; sanction, adhere to.

**septentrīōn·ēs, -um, m.** [**septem**, seven + **triōnēs**, plough oxen], the seven plough oxen, the stars of the Great Bear (Big Dipper), hence the North.

**septim·us, -a, -um**, *ord. num. adj.* [**septum**, seven], seventh.

**Sēquan·a, -ae, m.**, the river Sequana, now called the Seine. It flows across much of northern Gaul, and, more famously today, flows through Paris.

**Sēquan·us, -a, -um**, *adj.*, of or belonging to the Sequani; *pl. as noun*, **Sēquanī**, the Sequani.

**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum**, follow, follow after, pursue; accompany, attend; follow in point of time; with **poena**, be inflicted; **fidem sequī**, seek the protection.

**serm·ō, -ōnis, m.**, conversation, interview, speech.

**sērō, adv.**, late, too late.

**serō, serere, sēvī, satum**, sow, plant.

**servīl·is, -e, adj.** [**servus**, slave], of or like a slave, slavish, servile.

**servīt·ūs, -ūtis, f.** [**servus**, slave], slavery, servitude.

**servō**, 1, save, preserve; maintain, keep; guard, watch; reserve.

**serv•us**, -ī, *m.*, slave, servant.

**sēsē**, *see suī*.

**seu**, *see sive*.

**sī**, *conj.*, if, if perchance; to see whether or if; whether; **quod sī**, but if, now if. †

**sibi**, *see suī*. †

**sic**, *adv.*, so, thus, in this manner;

**sic . . . ut**, so . . . that; so . . . as.

**sicci•tās**, -tātis, *f.* [**siccus**, dry], drought, dryness.

**sicut** or **sicutī**, *adv.* [**sic**, so + **ut**(ī), as], so as, just as, just as if.

**sid•us**, -eris, *n.*, star; constellation.

**sign•um**, -ī, *n.*, mark, sign, signal, watchword; signal for battle, standard, ensign; **ab signīs**

**discēdere**, withdraw from the

ranks; **signa inferre**, advance

to the attack; **signa conversa**

**inferre**, face about and advance

to the attack; **signa ferre**,

advance *on the march*; direct the

attack; **signa convertere**, face or

wheel about or around; **ad signa**

**convenire**, join the army.

**silv•a**, -ae, *f.*, forest, woods, a wood.

**simil•is**, -e, *adj.*, like, similar.

**simul**, *adv.* at once, at the same time, thereupon; **simul . . .**

**simul**, both . . . and, partly . . .

partly; **simul atque**, as soon as.

**simulacr•um**, -ī, *n.* [**simulō**, make like], image, statue.

**simul•tās**, -tātis, *f.*, jealousy, rivalry.

**sīn**, *conj.*, if however, but if.

**sine**, *prep. with abl.*, without. †

**singulār•is**, -e, *adj.* [**singulī**, one each], one at a time, one by one; single, alone; singular, remarkable, extraordinary, matchless.

**singul•ī**, -ae, -a, *distributive num. adj.*, one each, one; one at a time, single, separate; each, every; the several; **in annōs singulōs**, annually.

**soc•ius**, -ī, *m.* [*compare sequor*, follow], companion, confederate, ally.

**sōl**, **sōlis**, *m.*, the sun; **ad occidentem sōlem**, toward the setting sun or west; **ad orientem sōlem**, toward the rising sun or east.

**soleō**, **solēre**, **solitus sum** (App. §74), be accustomed, be used to.

**solvō**, **solvere**, **solvī**, **solūtum**, loosen, untie; *with or without nāvēs*, weigh anchor, set sail, put to sea.

**spat•ium**, -ī, *n.*, space, distance, extent, length of space; period or length of time, hence time, opportunity.

**speci•ēs**, -eī, *f.* [**speciō**, see], seeing, sight; look, appearance, show, pretense.

**spectō**, 1 [*frequentative of speciō*, see], look at, regard; look, face, lie.

**speculātōri•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [**speculātor**, spy], of a spy, spying, scouting.

**spērō**, 1 [**spēs**, hope], hope, hope for, anticipate.



**spēs, speī, f.**, hope, anticipation, expectation. †

**spontis, gen. and sponte, abl. (obs. nom. spōns)**, *f.*, of one's own accord, willingly, voluntarily; by oneself.

**stabili-tās, -tātis, f.** [**stabilis**, firm], firmness, steadiness.

**statim, adv.** [**stō**, stand], *as one stands, hence*, immediately, at once, right away.

**stati-ō, -ōnis, f.** [**stō**, stand], standing *or* stationing; a military post *or* station; sentries, pickets, outposts; **in statiōne esse**, be on guard.

**stipend-ium, -ī, n.**, tax, tribute.

**stō, stāre, steti, statum**, stand, abide by.

**strāmentum, -ī, n.**, covering; straw, thatch; packsaddle.

**strepit-us, -ūs, m.** [**strepō**, make a noise], noise, rattle, uproar.

**stude-ō, -ēre, -uī, —**, be eager *or* zealous; desire, strive after, devote oneself to; pay attention to; accustom oneself to.

**stud-ium, -ī, n.** [**studeō**, be zealous], zeal, eagerness, enthusiasm, desire; goodwill, devotion; pursuit, occupation.

**sub, prep. with acc. and abl.** (1) *With acc.*, (a) *with verbs of motion*, under, beneath; up to; (2) *of time*, just at, about, toward. (2) *With abl.*, (a) *of position*, under, beneath; toward, near to; at the foot *or* base of; (b) *of time*, during, within; *in compounds*,

**sub- or subs-**, under; up away; from beneath; secretly; in succession; slightly.

**sub-dūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductum** [**dūcō**, lead], draw *or* lead up; lead *or* draw off, withdraw; with **nāvēs**, haul up, beach.

**sub-eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go. App. §84], come *or* go under, come up to; come up; undergo, endure.

**subitō, adv.** [**subitus**, sudden], suddenly, unexpectedly, of a sudden.

**sublātus, see tollō.**

**sub-mittō, -mittere, -misi, -missum** [**mittō**, send], send up, send, send to the assistance of.

**sub-moveō, -movēre, -mōvī, -mōtum** [**moveō**, move], move away, drive away, dislodge.

**sub-sequor, -sequī, -secūtus** [**sequor**, follow], follow closely, follow up *or* on, follow.

**subsidi-um, -ī, n.** [**subsidiō**, sit near *or* in reserve], sitting in reserve; reserve force, reserves; help, aid, assistance.

**sub-sum, -esse, -fui, —** [**sum**, be. App. §77], be under *or* below, be near *or* close at hand.

**sub-veniō, -venīre, -vēnī, -ventum** [**veniō**, come], come *or* go to help, aid, succor.

**suc-cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum** [**cēdō**, go], go *or* come under; come up to, come up, advance, be next to; succeed, take the place of; succeed, prosper.



**suc•cendō, -cendere, -cendī,**  
-cēsum, set on fire below,  
kindle, burn.

**suc•currō, -currere, -cursī,**  
-cursum [currō, run], run to  
help, aid, assist.

**sud•is, -is, f.,** heavy beam, pile,  
stake.

**suffrāg•ium, -ī, n.,** vote, ballot.

**suī (gen.), sibi (dat.), sē or sēsē (acc.**  
*or abl.), reflexive pron.* 3rd person  
(App. §§163–165), himself,  
herself, itself, themselves; he, she,  
it they, etc.; **inter sē**, see **inter** and  
App. §166. †

**sum, esse, fui, —, be, exist, live;**  
stay, remain; serve for; *with*  
*gen. in predicate:* be the mark  
*or sign of;* belong to; *with dat.:*  
*have;* *for forms, see* App. §66. †  
**fore=futūrum esse (from sum).** †

**summ•a, -ae, f. [summus,**  
highest], the main thing *or*  
point, sum total, aggregate, the  
whole; general management,  
control, direction; **summa**  
**imperī**, the chief command.

**summ•us, -a, -um, adj. [superl.**  
of **superus**, high. App. §44],  
highest, very high; the highest  
part of, the top of; preeminent,  
greatest, chief, supreme; all. †

**sūmō, sūmere, sūmpsī, sūmptum**  
[**sub + emō**, take], take away,  
take; assume; *with* **supplic•ium,**  
**-ī, n. [sub + plicō**, bend],  
humiliation; sacrificing; humble  
request *or* petition, supplication;  
punishment, penalty, torture.

**sūmptuōs•us, -a, -um,**  
*adj. [sūmptus*, expense],  
expensive.

**superarō, 1 [super, over], go**  
over; overmatch, be superior  
to, surpass, conquer, master,  
overcome, prevail; be left over,  
remain; **vītā superāre**, survive.

**superior, -ius, adj. [comp. of**  
**superus**, high. App. §44], (1) *of*  
*place*, upper, higher, superior;  
(2) *of time*, previous, earlier,  
former. †

**super•us, -a, -um, adj. [super,**  
above], over, above; *comp., see*  
**superior**; *superl., see* **summus**. †

**sup•petō, -petere, -petīvī,**  
**-petitum [sub + petō**, seek,  
obtain], be near *or* at hand; be in  
store, be supplied, hold out.

**supplic•ium, -ī, n. [sub + plicō,**  
bend], humiliation; sacrificing;  
humble request *or* petition,  
supplication; punishment,  
penalty, torture.

**suprā, adv. and prep. with acc. (1)**  
*as adv.*, before, previously; (2) *as*  
*prep. with acc.*, above; before.

**sus•cipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptum**  
[**su(b)s + capiō**, take], take *or*  
lift up; undertake, assume, take  
on oneself; begin, engage in.

**suspici•ō, -ōnis, f. [suspicio,**  
suspect], suspicion, distrust;  
surmise.

**suspicio, 1 [suspiciō, suspect],**  
suspect, distrust; surmise.

**sustent•ō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum, to**  
build up; to sustain.

**sus•tineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum**  
[**su(b)s + teneō**, hold], hold up  
from below; hold up, sustain;  
hold back, check, restrain; hold  
out against, withstand, endure,  
bear; hold out. †

**sustulī**, see **tollō**.

**su•us, -a, -um, adj.**, *reflex.*

*pronominal adj. referring to the  
subject (App. §§163–167, a.),*  
[**suī**, himself, herself, etc.], of or  
belonging to himself, herself, etc.,  
his own, her own, its own, their  
own; his, hers, its, theirs; **sua**, *n.*  
*pl. as noun*, one's property; **suī**, *m.*  
*pl. as noun*, their men (*friends or*  
*countrymen*). †

## T.

**T.**, *abbr. for Titus, a Roman  
praenomen.*

**tamen**, *adv.* (*opposed to  
some expressed or implied  
concession*), yet, nevertheless,  
notwithstanding, still, however;  
at least. †

**tametsī**, *conj.* [**tamen**, however +  
**etsī**, even if], although, though,  
notwithstanding.

**tandem**, *adv.*, at last, at length,  
finally; *in interrog. clauses to add  
emphasis*, as **quid tandem**, what  
then?

**tantum**, *adv.* [**tantus**, so great], so  
much, so, so far; only, merely.

**tant•us, -a, -um, adj.**, so much, so  
great, so powerful, such; **quantō**  
... **tantō**, *with comparatives*, see  
**quantō**. †

**Tasget•ius, -ī, m.**, Tasgetius, *a  
leader among the Carnutes.*

**tegō, tegere, tēxī, tēctum**, cover,  
hide; protect, defend.

**tēl•um, -ī, n.**, *a weapon for fighting  
at a distance*, missile, dart, spear,  
javelin. †

**temerāri•us, -a, -um, adj.**

[**temerē**, rashly], rash,  
imprudent, reckless.

**temerē**, *adv.*, rashly, blindly,  
without good reason.

**tēm•ō, -ōnis, m.**, pole (*of a  
wagon*).

**temperō**, *1*, restrain or control  
oneself, refrain; **temperātus**,  
*perf. part. as adj.*, temperate,  
mild.

**tempes•tās, -tātis, f.** [**tempus**,  
time], time, season; weather,  
*usually bad weather*, storm,  
tempest.

**temp•us, -oris, n.**, *a division or  
section of time*, a time, time (*in  
general*); occasion, crisis; **omnī  
tempore**, always; **in reliquum  
tempus**, for the future; **ūnō  
tempore**, at the same time, at  
once. †

**teneō, tenēre, tenuī, tentum**,  
hold, keep, occupy, possess, hold  
possession of; hold in, restrain,  
bind; **sē tenēre**, remain;  
**memoriā tenēre**, remember. †

**tenu•is, -e, adj.**, slim, thin; slight,  
insignificant; delicate.

**terg•um, -ī, n.**, the back; **terga  
vertere**, to flee; **post tergum or  
ab tergō**, in the rear.

**terr•a, -ae, f.**, earth, land, soil, ground; region, district; **terrae** (pl.) and **orbis terrarum**, the world.

**terreō**, 2, frighten, terrify.

**terr•or, -ōris, m.** [**terreō**, frighten], fright, alarm, panic, terror.

**terti•us, -a, -um, adj., ord. number**, adj., third. †

**testimōn•ium, -ī, n.** [**testor**, be a witness], testimony, evidence, proof.

**testūd•ō, -inis, f.**, tortoise; shed; a *testitudo*, a column of men, holding their shields overlapped above their heads (which made them look like a giant tortoise).

**time•ō, -ēre, -uī, —**, fear, be afraid of, dread; with *dat.*, be anxious about, be anxious for, dread; **nihil timēre**, have no fear.

**timidē, adv.** [**timidus**, fearful], fearfully, cowardly, timidly.

**tim•or, -ōris, m.** [**timeō**, fear], fear, alarm, dread.

**Titūr•ius, -ī, m.**, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

**Tit•us** (abbr. T.), **-ī, m.**, Titus, a Roman praenomen.

**tolerō**, 1, bear, endure; hold out; nourish, support; with **famem**, alleviate.

**tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātum**, lift up, elevate; take on board; take away, remove; do away with, destroy; cancel; **sublātus, perf. part. as adj.**, destroyed, elated.

**torment•um, -ī, n.** [**torqueō**, twist], means of twisting; an engine or machine for hurling missiles, e.g., catapults and ballista; windlass, hoist; device for torturing, hence, torment, torture.

**torreō, torrēre, torruī, tostum**, scorch, burn.

**tot, indecl. adj.**, so many.

**tōt•us, -a, -um, gen. totius** (App. §32), *adj.*, the whole, the whole of; entire, all; with *force of adv.*, wholly, entirely. †

**trā•dō, -dere, -didī, -ditum** [**trāns + dō**, give], give over, give up, surrender, deliver; entrust, commit; hand down, transmit; teach, communicate.

**trāgul•a, -ae, f.**, a javelin, spear, or dart used by the Gauls.

**tra•iciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectum** [**iaciō**, throw. App. §7], hurl across; pierce, transfix.

**trāns, prep. with acc.**, across, beyond, over; in compounds, **trāns-** or **trā-**, across, over, through.

**trāns•eō, -īre, -iī, -itum** [**eō**, go. App. §84], go across or come over, cross; march through, pass through; move, migrate; of time, pass by.

**trāns•ferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum** [**ferō**, carry. App. §81], carry or bring over, transfer.

**trāns•figō, -figere, -fixī, -fixum** [**figō**, fix], thrust or pierce through; transfix.

**trānslātus, see trānsferō.**

**trānsportō**, 1 [**portō**, carry],

carry across or over, bring over,  
convey, transport.

**Trebōn•ius**, -ī, *m.*, (1) Gaius

Trebonius, *one of Caesar's*  
*lieutenants.* (2) Gaius Trebonius,  
*a Roman of equestrian status.*

**trepidō**, 1, hurry about in

alarm; *pass.*, be disturbed or in  
confusion.

**trēs**, *tria*, *gen. trium* (III), *card.*

*number, adj.*, three. †

III, *see trēs.*

**Trēv•ir**, -erī, *m.*, one of the

Treveri; *pl. Trēverī*, the Treveri,  
*a Belgic people near the Rhine.*

**tribūn•us**, -ī, *m.* [**tribus**, tribe],

tribune; **tribūnus plēbis**, *at*  
*Rome, a magistrate elected by the*  
*people voting in tribes, originally*  
*to defend the interests of the plebs;*  
**tribūnus militum** or **militāris**,  
*a military tribune.*

**tribūt•um**, -ī, *n.* [**tribuō**, render,

pay], tribute, tax.

**tulī**, *see ferō*. †

**Tuling•ī**, -ōrum, *m.*, the Tulingi, *a*

*Gallic tribe east of the Rhine.*

**tum**, *adv.*, then, at this or that

time; then, secondly; then, also;  
**cum . . . tum**, both . . . and, not  
only . . . but also. †

**tumult•us**, -ūs, *m.* [**tumeō**, swell],

uproar, confusion, disorder,  
tumult; uprising, insurrection.

**tumul•us**, -ī, *m.* [**tumeō**, swell],

swelling; mound, hill.

**tunc**, *adv.*, then, at that time, at

this juncture.

**turm•a**, -ae, *f.*, troop or squadron  
*of about thirty cavalrymen.*

**turp•is**, -e, *adj.*, ugly, unseemly;  
shameful, disgraceful,  
dishonorable.

**turr•is**, -is, *f.*, tower. †

**tūtō**, *adv.* [**tūtus**, safe], safely,  
securely.

**tūt•us**, -a, -um, *adj.* [**tueor**,  
protect], protected, safe, secure.

**tu•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, *poss. adj.* [**tū**,  
you], your, yours.

## U.

**ubi**, *adv.* (1) *of place*, in which  
place, where; (2) *of time*, when,  
whenever; as soon as; **ubi**  
**primum**, as soon as.

**ulcīscor**, **ulcīscī**, **ultus sum**,  
avenge; punish, take vengeance  
on.

**ūll•us**, -a, -um, *gen. ūllius* (App.  
§32), *adj.*, a single, any; *as noun*,  
anyone, anybody.

**ulter•ior**, -ius, *adj.*, *comp.* [**ultrā**,  
beyond. App. §43], farther, more  
remote, ulterior.

**ultim•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, *superl.*  
[**ultrā**, beyond. App. §43],  
farthest, most distant or remote;  
*as noun*, those in the rear.

**ultrā**, *prep. with acc.*, beyond, on  
the farther side of.

**ultrō**, *adv.*, to or on the farther  
side, beyond; of one's  
own accord, voluntarily,  
spontaneously, without  
provocation; besides, moreover;  
**ultrō citrōque**, back and forth.

**ululāt•us, -ūs, m.,** yell, shriek.

**unde, adv.,** from which place, whence.

**undique, adv.** [**unde**, whence], from all parts; on all sides, everywhere.

**ūnivers•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**unus**, one + **vertō**, turn], turned into one: all together, whole, universal; all as a mass.

**ūn•us, -a, -um, adj., gen. ūnīus** (App. §32), card. number, adj., one, the same one; single, alone; the sole, the only; the sole or only one. †

**urbs, urbis, f.,** city; especially, the city, Rome.

**ūs•us, -ūs, m.** [**ūtor**, use], use, experience, practice, skill; service, advantage; need, necessity; **ūsus est**, there is need; **ūsui esse** or **ex ūsū esse**, be of advantage or service; **ūsū venīre**, come by necessity; happen. †

**ut and utī, adv. and conj.,** (1) as interrog. adv., how?; (2) as rel. adv. and conj., as, in proportion as, just as; insomuch as; as if; (3) as conj. (a) with the ind., when, after; (b) with the subjunctive, that, in order that, to; that, so that, so as to; though, although; after words of fearing, that not. †

**uter, utra, utrum, gen. utrius** (App. §32), adj. (1) as interrog., which one or which one of two; (2) as rel., the one who, of two, whichever. †

**uterque, utraque, utrumque, adj.** [**uter**, which of two], each of two, either of two; both. †

**ūt•or, -ī, ūsus sum,** make use of, employ, use, avail oneself of, exercise; have, enjoy, experience, possess, show; adopt, accept; **ūsus, perf. part.** often translated: with. †

**ux•or, -ōris, f.,** wife.

## V.

**V, sign for quīnque,** five.

**vacāti•ō, -ōnis, f.** [**vacō**, be empty], exemption.

**vad•um, -ī, n.,** ford, shallow, i.e., a spot where it is possible to wade across.

**vāgīn•a, -ae, f.,** sheath, scabbard.

**vagor, 1** [**vagus**, roaming], roam around, rove, wander.

**valetūd•ō, -inis, f.** [**valeō**, be strong], health, poor health.

**vall•ēs, is, f.,** a valley

**vall•um, -ī, n.** [**vallus**, palisade], wall or rampart of earth set with palisades; entrenchments, earthworks. †

**-ve, conj., enclitic=vel,** or.

**vel, conj. and adv.** (1) as conj., or; **vel . . . vel**, either . . . or; (2) as adv., even.

**velim, see volō.** †

**vellem, see volō.** †

**vēl•ōx, -ōcis, adj.,** swift, rapid, speedy.

**Venet•ī, -ōrum, m.,** Veneti; a Gallic people on the western Atlantic coast.

- veniō, venīre, vēnī, ventum**, come, arrive, go, advance; **in spem venīre**, have hopes; *pass. often impers. as ventum est*, they came, it came, etc.
- ventitō**, 1 [*frequentative of veniō*, come], keep coming, resort; go back and forth, visit.
- vent-us, -ī, m.**, wind.
- vereor, verērī, veritus sum**, revere; fear, dread, be afraid of.
- verg-ō, -ere, —, —**, look or lie toward, be situated.
- vērō, adv.** [**vērus**, true], in truth, truly, really, indeed; but, however, on the other hand.
- versō**, 1, turn; deal with; *pass. as deponent*, turn oneself; be, remain; engage in; fight.
- versus, adv.** [**vertō**, turn], turned to; toward.
- vers-us, -ūs, m.** [**vertō**, turn], turning, verse.
- Vertic-ō, -ōnis, m.**, Vertico, a high-ranking Nervian.
- vertō, vertere, vertī, versum**, turn, turn around; **terga vertere**, flee.
- Verucloeti-us, -ī, m.**, Verucloetius, a Helvetian sent as an envoy to Caesar.
- verūt-um, -ī, n.**, dart, spear, javelin.
- vi-a, -ae, f.**, way, road, route; journey, march.
- vīcēn-ī, -ae, -um**, distributive num. *adj.* [**vīginti**, twenty], twenty each, twenty.
- vicis, gen. (no nom. form)**, change; only in the *adv. phrase in vicem*, alternately, in turn.
- victim-a, -ae, f.**, victim; a sacrificial animal.
- vict-or, -ōris, m.** [**vincō**, conquer], conqueror, victor; as *adj.*, victorious.
- victōri-a, -ae, f.** [**victor**, conqueror], conquest, victory. †
- vīc-us, -ī, m.**, village, hamlet.
- videō, vidēre, vīdī, vīsum**, see, perceive, observe, examine, understand; see to, take care; *in pass.*, be seen; seem, appear; seem proper, seem best. †
- vigili-a, -ae, f.** [**vigil**, awake], wakefulness, watching; a watch, one of the four equal divisions of the night, used by the Romans in reckoning time and organizing guard duty.
- VII, sign for septem**, seven.
- vīm-en, -inis, n.**, a bendable stick, switch, osier.
- vinciō, vincīre, vīnxi, vinctum**, bind.
- vincō, vincere, vīcī, victum**, conquer, overcome, vanquish, prevail; have one's way or desire.
- vincul-a, -ae, f.** [**vinciō**, bind], bond, fetter, chain.
- vīr, vīrī, m.**, man; husband; a man of distinction or honor; compare **homō**, a human being, as opposed to lower animals. †
- virt-ūs, -ūtis, f.** [**vīr**, man], manliness, bravery, valor, merit, worth, courage, virtue; strength, energy, force; *pl.*, good qualities, merits, virtues. †

**vīs, vīs** (App. §27), *f.*, force, might, energy, strength; violence, severity; authority, power; a force, a great number; *pl.* **vīrēs**, strength, force; **vim facere**, use violence. †

**vīt•a, -ae, f.** [*cf.* **vīvō**, live], life; manner of living, lifestyle, living.

**vītō**, 1, avoid, shun, evade, escape.

**vīvō, vivere, vīxī, vīctum**, live; subsist on.

**vīv•us, -a, -um, adj.** [**vīvō**, live], alive, living.

**vix, adj.**, with difficulty, barely, hardly.

**vocō**, 1 [**vōx**, voice], call, summon; invite.

**volō, velle, voluī**, — (App. §82), wish, be willing, want, desire; prefer, choose; intend; mean; **quid sibi vellet**, what did he intend or mean? †

**volun•tās, -tātis, f.** [**volō**, wish], wish, will, desire, inclination; goodwill, favor; consent, approval.

**Vorēn•us, -ī, m.**, Lucius Vorenus, a centurion in Caesar's army.

**vōs, see tū.**

**voveō, vovēre, vōvī, vōtum**, vow.

**vōx, vōcis, f.**, voice, tone; outcry, cry, shout; word; *pl.*, words, language, *variously translated according to context*, as entreaties, complaints, tales, etc.

**vulgō, adv.** [**vulgus**, the crowd], commonly, everywhere.

**vulg•us, -ī, n.**, the common people, the multitude, the public, the masses; a crowd.

**vulnerō**, 1 [**vulnus**, wound], wound.

**vuln•us, -eris, n.**, a wound.







## High Frequency Vocabulary

NB: This sheet provides only essential meanings. When students encounter a word for the first time, they should consult the full entry for the word in the glossary, which provides additional definitions and the roots. If the full entry also references the grammatical appendix, the word is marked on this sheet with an asterisk \*. The complete glossary explains how vocabulary entries have been constructed.

**ā, ab, abs**, *prep., abl.*, (1) from, away from; (2) at, in, on; **ā tergō**, in the rear; (3) **ab milibus passuum duobus**, two miles away; (4) by; (5) in respect to, after.

**ac**, *see atque*.

**ac-cidō, -cidere, -cidī**, —, fall to; befall; happen, occur.

**ac-cipiō, -cipere, -cēpi, -ceptum**, take to oneself, accept; experience, suffer; learn, hear, take.

**ad**, *prep., acc.*, (1) to, toward, against; (2) at, near; (3) for (the purpose of); (4) *numbers*: up to, about; (5) *time*: up to, until; at, on; (6) after, according to, among.

**advent-us, -ūs, m.**, arrival, approach.

**ag-er, -rī, m.**, field; district, territory.

**ali-quis, -quid, and ali-quī, -qua, -quod**, *indef. pron.*, someone, something; anyone, anything, any.\*

**ali-us, -a, -ud, gen., alius**, another, other; **alius . . . alius**, one . . . another; *pl.*: some . . . others.\*

**alter, -era, -erum**, the other (*of two*); second; the one; **alter . . . alter**, the one . . . the other; **alteri . . . alteri**, the one party . . . the other.\*

**Ambiorix, -igis, m.**, Ambiorix, *king of Eburones*.

**ann-us, -ī, m.**, year.

**ante** *adv.*, (1) before, above, previously; (2) *prep., acc.*, before, in front of.

**apud**, *prep., acc.*, at, among, near, with; at the house of, in the presence of.

**arbitror**, 1, decide, think, believe.

**arm-a, -ōrum, n. pl.**, arms, weapons; battle, war.

**at**, *conj.*, but, at least.

**atque, ac, conj.** (1) and also, and even, and; (2) *comparisons*: than, as, from.

**aut**, *conj.*, or; **aut . . . aut**, either . . . or. **autem**, *conj.*, but; however; moreover.

**Belg-ae, -ārum, m.**, the Belgae.

**bell-um, -ī, n.**, war.

**Britanni-a, -ae, f.**, Britannia, Britain.

**Caes-ar, -aris, m.**, (1) Gaius Julius Caesar; (2) Lucius Julius Caesar, *a lieutenant*.

**capi-ō, -ere, cēpi, captum**, take, capture, catch; take in, trick; take up (*arms*); choose (*a spot*); adopt (*a plan*); reach; arrive at; make (*a beginning*); **collem capere**, take a position on a hill; **fugam capere**, take to flight.

**castr-a, -ōrum, n. pl.**, (fortified) camp; **castra facere** or **pōnere**, pitch camp; **castra movēre**, break camp.

**caus-a, -ae, f.**, cause, reason, motive; situation; a (*legal*) case; **causam dicere**, to plead a case; **causā, with gen.**, for the sake or purpose of.

**celeri-tās, -tātis, f.**, speed, swiftness.

**cert-us, -a, -um, adj.**, certain, sure, fixed; **certiorem facere**, inform (*with acc. and inf.*); order (*with ut* or *nē* and *subjunctive*); **certior fieri**, be informed.

**Cicer-ō, -ōnis, m.**, Quintus Tullius Cicero, *a lieutenant*.

**circiter**, *adv.* about, around, near.

**circum-venio, -venire, -venī, -ventum**, surround, cut off, beset; betray.

**civi-tās, -tātis, f.**, citizenship; state.

**coepī, coepisse**, began, undertook; **coeptus, perf. part.**, begun.\*

**cog-nōscō, -nōscere, -nōvī, -nitum**, learn; study; *perf.*: I know.\*

**cōgō, cōgere, coēgi, coactum**, collect, assemble; force, compel.

**cohor-s, -tis, f.**, cohort.

**collocō**, 1, place, set, station; arrange.

**col-loquor, -loquī, -locūtus sum**, speak with, have a conference.

**commūn-is, -e, adj.** common, general; **rēs commūnis**, the common interest.

**cōnsili-um, -ī, n.**, deliberation; counsel, advice; plan; course of action; judgement; wisdom; council (of war); **commūnī cōnsiliō**, by or in accordance with general action; **publicō cōnsiliō**, by action of the state; **cōnsilium capere** or **inire**, form or adopt a plan; **cōnsilium habēre**, think, consider.

**cōn-stituō, -stituire, -stitui, -stitūtum**, set up, construct, appoint, decide, decree, establish; draw up (*troops in formation*); anchor (*ships*); raise (*a legion*).

**cōn-suēscō, -suēscere, -suēvī, -suētum**, become used to; *perf.*, be accustomed; **cōnsuētus, perf. part. as adj.** accustomed, usual.\*

**con-tineō, -tinēre, -tinui, -tentum**, hold, keep, restrain; bound, shut up, contain; **sē continēre, with abl.**, remain in, on, or within.

**contrōversi-a, -ae, f.**, dispute, argument.

**con-veniō, -venire, -vēnī, -ventum**, come together, assemble; meet; arrive; be agreed upon; *impers.*: be convenient, suitable, or necessary.

**cōpi-a, -ae, f.**, supply, plenty, number; *pl.*: resources; forces, troops.

**cum, conj.**, when, as, while; after, as soon as; whenever; since, because; although; **cum . . . tum**, not only . . . but also, both . . . and; **cum primū**, as soon as.\*

**cog-nōscō, -nōscere, -nōvī, -nitum**, learn; study; *perf.*: I know.\*

**dē, prep., abl.**, (1) *place*: from, down or away from, out of; (2) *time*: just after, about; (3) about, concerning, in accordance with.

**dicō, dicere, dixī, dictum**, say, tell, speak, mention; name, appoint; **causam dicere**, plead a case.

**diēs, diēī, m. and f.**, day; time; **in diēs**, from day to day; **diem ex diē**, day after day.

**dis-cēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessum**, go away, depart, retire; leave.

**dō, dare, dedi, datum**, give, grant, furnish; offer; yield, give up; **in fugam dare**, put to flight.\*

**dūcō, dūcere, dūxī, ductum**, lead, conduct, guide, draw; bring, fetch; trace, construct, extend; deem, consider, judge; protract, defer.

**dum, conj.**, while, as long as; till, until. **du-o, -ae, -a, card. num., adj.**, two.\*

**ē, ex, prep., abl.**, (1) *place*: out of, from, away from; on; **ūnā ex parte**, on one side; (2) *time*: from, after, since; **ex itinere**, immediately after the march; (3) of, because of, in accordance with; **ē regiōne**, opposite.

**equ-es, -itis, m.**, a horseman; equestrian; *pl.*: cavalry.

**equitāt-us, -ūs, m.**, cavalry, horsemen.

**equ-us, -ī, m.**, horse. **et, conj.**, and; also, too, even; **et . . . et**, both . . . and.

**etiam, conj.**, and also, also, even, yet.

**exercit-us, -ūs, m.**, an army.

**existimō**, 1, reckon, think, consider.

**facile, adv.**, easily, readily. *Comp.*: **facilius**; *superl.*: **facillime**.\*

**faci-is, -e, adj.**, easy.

**faci-ō, -ere, fēcī, factum**, make, construct, form, do, execute (*commands*); give (*opportunity*); *with ut*, bring about, cause; *intransitive.*: do, act. *Pass.*: **fiō, fieri, factus sum**, result, happen, come to pass.\*

**ferē, adv.**, almost, nearly, about, for the most part.

**ferō, ferre, tuli, lātum**, carry, bear, bring; endure, suffer, support, withstand; receive; tell, report, give, render (*aid*); offer, propose (*terms*); **graviter** or **molestē ferre**, be annoyed or angry at; *pass.* (*sometimes*) rush. \*

**fin-is, -is, m.**, boundary, limit, border, end; *pl.* borders; territory, country.

**flū-men, -inis, n.**, river, stream.

**frūment-um, -ī, n.**, grain; *pl.*: crops.

**Galli-a, -ae, f.**, Gaul.

**Gall-us, -a, -um, adj.**, Gallic; *pl.*: the Gauls.

**gen-us, -eris, n.**, descent, origin, race, class, tribe, family; kind, nature.

**German-ī, -ōrum, m.**, the Germani.

**ger-ō, -re, gessī, gestum**, carry, bear, wield; (*of war*) carry on, perform, wage, conduct; *pass.*: be done, go on, occur.

**grav-is, -e, adj.**, heavy, oppressive, hard, severe, serious; advanced (*in years*).

**hab-eō, -ēre, -uī, -itum**, have, hold, possess; think, consider, regard; deliver (*with orationem*); **in animō habēre**, intend; **rationem habēre**, have regard for; take care or see that (*followed by an ut clause*); **cōnsilium habēre**, form a plan; **in numerō hostium habēre**, consider as enemies; **aliter sē habēre**, be otherwise or be different.\*

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**inter-ficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectum**, make away with, kill, destroy.

**interim, adv.**, meanwhile, in the meantime.

**ipse, ipsa, ipsum, gen., ipsius, intensive pron.**, self; himself, herself, itself, themselves; he, she, it, they; *as adj.*, very; *in gen.*, his, her, its, or their own. (*Not reflex.; compare sē*.)\*

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**Helveti-us, -a, -um, adj.**, Helvetian; *pl.*: the Helvetii.

**hibern-a, -ōrum, n.**, winter camp or quarters.

**hic, haec, hoc, demon. pron.**: this, this man, this woman, this thing; he, she, it; *abl. sing. hōc*, on this account, in this respect; the (*with comp.*); **hic . . . ille**, the latter . . . the former.\*

**hom-ō, -inis, m.**, human being, person; *pl.*: humankind, humanity.

**host-is, -is, m. or f.**, (*public*) enemy, enemy combatant; *pl.*: the enemy.

**idem, eadem, idem, demon. pron.** the same; this very; **idem atque**, the same as.\*

**ille, illa, illud, gen. illius, demon. pron.**, that, that man, that woman, that thing; he, she, it; **hic . . . ille**, the latter . . . the former.\*

**in, prep., acc. & abl. Acc.**: (1) into, to; in, among; toward, for, against; at; upon; (2) *time*: till, into; for; on, at; (3) in, in respect to, for, under, over, on; **in diēs**, from day to day; **in fugam conicere**, to put to flight; **in Caesarem incidere**, meet with Caesar; **summum in cruciātum venire**, be punished with the severest torture. *Abl.*: (1) in, among, over, within, throughout, on, upon; (2) *time*: in, during, in the course of; on; (3) in, in the case of; in consequence of, in view of; on, upon; **in opere esse**, be engaged in the work.

**rēgn•um**, -ī, *n.*, royal authority, absolute power; despotism; kingdom.

**re•linquō**, -linquere, -liquī, -lictum, leave behind, abandon; *pass.*, be left, remain.

**reliqu•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, left, remaining, the rest, the rest of; future, subsequent; *n. noun*: remainder, rest.

**rēs**, **rei**, *f.*, of indef. meaning; variously translated according to context; thing, object, matter, event, affair, occurrence; circumstance, case; act, action, deed; reason, ground; **rēs familiāris**, property; **rēs frūmentāria**, supplies; **rēs militāris**, warfare; **novae rēs**, revolution; **rēs pública**, state; the Roman Republic; **rēs actae**, deeds, achievements; **quam ob rem**, see **quī** and **quis**.

**Rhēn•us**, -ī, *m.*, the river Rhine.

**Rhodan•us**, -ī, *m.*, the river Rhone.

**Rōmān•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, Roman.

**sal•ūs**, -ūtis, *f.*, welfare, security, safety; deliverance; place of safety; life (*when in danger*).

**sē**, see **suī**.

**sed**, *conj.*, but, but yet.

**sī**, *conj.*, if; if by chance; whether; **quod sī**, but if, now if.

**sibi**, see **suī**.

**sine**, *prep. with abl.*, without.

**spēs**, **spei**, *f.*, hope, expectation.

**suī** (*gen.*), **sibi** (*dat.*), **sē** or **sēsē** (*acc. or abl.*), *reflex. pron. 3<sup>rd</sup> person*, himself, herself, itself, themselves; he, she, it they, *etc.*; **inter sē**, see **inter**.\*

**sum**, **esse**, **fuī**, —, be, exist, live; stay, remain; serve for; *with gen. in predicate*: be the mark or sign of; belong to; *with dat.*: have.\*

**summ•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, highest, very high; the top or highest part of; preeminent, chief, supreme; all.

**superior**, -ius, *adj.* (1) *place*: upper, higher, superior; (2) *time*: previous, earlier, former.

**super•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, over, above.

**sus•tineō**, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentum, hold up, sustain; hold back, check, restrain; hold out against, withstand, endure, bear; hold out.

**su•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, *reflex. pronominal adj.*, of or belonging to himself, herself, *etc.*, his own, her own, its own, their own; his, hers, its, theirs; **sua**, *n. pl. as noun*: one's property; **suī**, *m. pl. as noun*: their men.\*

**tamen**, *adv.*, yet, nevertheless, still, however; at least.

**tant•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, so much, so great, so powerful, such.

**tēl•um**, -ī, *n.*, missile, spear, javelin.

**temp•us**, -oris, *n.*, a length of time, a time, time (*in general*); occasion, crisis; **omnī tempore**, always; **ūnō tempore**, at the same time, at once.

**ten•eō**, **tenēre**, **tenuī**, **tentum**, hold, keep, occupy, possess; hold in, restrain, bind; **sē tenēre**, remain; **memoriā tenēre**, remember.

**terti•us**, -a, -um, *ord. num.*, *adj.*, third.

**tōt•us**, -a, -um, *gen. totius*, *adj.*, the whole (of); entire, all; *with force of adv.*, wholly, entirely.\*

**trēs**, **tria**, *gen. trium*, *card. num.*, *adj.*, three.

**tulī**, see **ferō**.

**tum**, *adv.*, then, at this or that time; then, secondly; then, also; **cum** . . . **tum**, see **cum**.

**turr•is**, -is, *f.*, tower.

**ūn•us**, -a, -um, *adj.*, *gen. ūnius*, *card. num.*, *adj.*, one, the same one; single, alone; the sole, the only; the sole or only one.\*

**ūs•us**, -ūs, *m.*, use, experience, practice, skill; service, advantage; need, necessity; **ūsus est**, there is need; **ūsui esse** or **ex ūsū esse**, be of advantage or service.

**ut** and **utī**, *adv. and conj.*, (1) *as interrog. adv.*, how? (2) *as rel. adv. and conj.*, as, in proportion as, just as; insomuch as; as if; (3) *as conj.* (a) *with the ind.*, when, after; (b) *with the subjunctive*, that, in order that, to; that, so that, so as to; though, although; *after words of fearing*, that not, lest.

**uter**, **utra**, **utrum**, *gen. utrius*, *adj.* (1) *as interrog.*, which one or which one of two; (2) *as rel.*, the one who, of two, whichever.\*

**uterque**, **utraque**, **utrumque**, *adj.*, each of two, either of two; both.\*

**ūt•or**, -ī, **ūsus sum**, make use of, employ, use, avail oneself of, exercise; have, enjoy, possess, experience, show; adopt, accept; **ūsus**, *perf. part. often translated*: with.

**velim** or **vellem**, see **volō**.

**victōri•a**, -ae, *f.*, conquest, victory.

**videō**, **vidēre**, **vidī**, **visum**, see, perceive, observe, examine, understand; see to, take care; *in pass.*, be seen; seem, appear; seem proper, seem best.

**vir**, **virī**, *m.*, man; husband; a man of distinction or honor.

**virt•ūs**, -ūtis, *f.*, manliness, bravery, valor, merit, worth, courage, virtue; strength, energy, force; *pl.*: good qualities, merits, virtues.

**vīs**, **vīs**, *f.*, force, might, energy, strength; violence, severity; authority, power; a force, a great number; *pl. virēs*, strength, force; **vīm facere**, use violence.\*

**volō**, **velle**, **voluī**, —, wish, be willing, want, desire; prefer, choose; intend; mean.